

A HISTORY OF WALES

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FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

Including hitherto Unrecorded Antiquarian Lore

“Myn y gwir ei le”

BY

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INTRODUCTION

THE EASTERN BOUNDARY OF WALES

Saxon King Offa's Dike.

OFFA'S Dike, since about A.D. 755, was the eastern boundary of Wales, and starts just beyond the mouth of the river Wye. According to the latest computations, the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles first established themselves in force on the eastern, or Kent, side of England, in A.D. 449. They were a brave but lawless, barbarous people, who preyed on the fruits of the industry of others. As pirates and marauders, they were a terror to civilised communities. Their earliest heraldic insignia was the Raven, a bird of prey, the adoption of which as a national emblem shows they gloried in their shame. According to the Kimmerian Britannic records, they were first admitted into Kent as allies of a portion of Britons inhabiting the east border of England, who were on hostile terms with the other Britons. It appears that after the withdrawal of the Roman supreme authority in England alone, several of the native vice-governors under the Romans sought to assume the supreme authority over the other Britons from whom the Romans had recently withdrawn in consequence of the necessity of concentrating all their powers at Rome to resist the general advance of the hitherto subject nations of the empire, converging towards Rome itself. The Roman empire of the Cæsars was tottering to its fall.

It has been the practice to give credence to the fabulous statements made by Geffrey of Monmouth touching this period, but with Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote in A.D. 1188, all must now agree that his "history" is nothing but a fable or a fiction, in the construction of which he

used many important historical facts to give solidarity to his fables. The foreign hordes poured into Britain from the Baltic provinces and from Germany; and the north of England and the eastern portions of England were soon swarmed with those of the Raven tribes, whose bravery was their only redeeming quality.

Originally the foreign visitors arrived as allies of certain Britons at war with other Britons; but by degrees, when they discovered themselves strong enough, they made common cause on their own behalf against all the different divisions of the Britons, and in that way they gradually forced all the Britons out of Kent and the Isle of Thanet, and established themselves there, with a government of their own, independent of all the Britons, who seem to have continued to be hostile to each other, when they were thus being overshadowed by the foregoing three foreign nations, with innumerable other multitudes roaming over the ocean, ready to follow into Britain. This country, in fact, experienced the same collapse as did the other provinces of the empire, when vice and luxury at the centre corrupted the heart of Rome to such an extent that national paralysis unstrung all the limbs of the imperial Roman body politic. From A.D. 449 to A.D. 787 we only obtain occasional glimpses of public affairs, through the haze of fires and battles. In Welsh literature, fragments of the poetical dirges of the bards reach us through the roar of savagery let loose in all parts.

The Saxons, &c., called each Briton a Walsh or "Foreigner,"¹ a name by which the Teutons designated the Romans themselves, and it is to this day the name by which the Germans designate Italians and all others but themselves. This is the origin of the name "Welsh" given by Englishmen to the Kimmri of Wales, a name derived from the same German workshop. It is droll to thus find foreigners coming to Britain applying the name "foreigners" to the natives of other countries, and it continued down until recent times that all the land west

¹ "*Pistol (to Sir Hugh Evans): Ha, thou mountain foreigner!*"—*Merry Wives of Windsor*, Scene I.

of Salisbury, or Wessex (West Saxons), were designated on maps, West Wales. It was many centuries after the construction of Offa's Dike that the name "Wales" implied only the country west of that Dike. Max Müller states the Germans called a Briton "Wealh," and Britons, "Wealas." In Germany, Italy is still called Welschland.

In the following pages we omit or pass over the account of the Saxon heptarchy and the prolonged struggles between the Britons, supported by their Saxon allies against the Waelas of Wales on the west of Offa's Dike. That has been most ably accomplished by the late incomparable Sharon Turner in his history of the Anglo-Saxons, A.D. 1820. We endeavour here to supply a long-felt want, namely, a comprehensive and orderly history of Wales, avoiding the confused methods of those who in the past have attempted the task.

The difficulty of the task will be seen as we proceed in our researches, explorations, and analysis. The ground is so rich with characters, incidents, feuds, and fights, that it is difficult in the extreme to keep in view national matters apart from local matters.

The boundary between England and Wales on the eastern frontier of Wales, as it is now named, was called the Dike of the Saxon King Offa, a frontier which was agreed upon after some unrecorded council between the representatives of England and Wales, as the limit of both countries on the west for England, and on the east for Wales. The council seems to have concluded their joint decision about A.D. 765. About A.D. 794 the Welsh force had burst the dike. Some authorities state that King Offa was slain in the struggle between them which then took place during the efforts made by Wales to re-take the country beyond the dike, which was called "the Mark" by the Saxons, hence the name given to the province east of the dike was Mercia or Markia. Wales thus appears to have regarded "the Mark" as having been forced upon them by robbers and marauders or bandits. It appears conclusive that King Offa then fell dead, after an heroic reign of thirty-one years, A.D. 794.

Warrington, in his *History of Wales*, p. 94, supplies interesting particulars touching the bursting of Offa's Dike by Wales. Caradoc of Llancarvan, states Warrington, asserts that the Welshmen of Gwent, county Monmouth, and Glamorgan entered into an alliance with the Kings of Northumberland and the South Saxons, and suddenly, on the night of December 26, A.D. 776, the night being very dark, and assisted by the Welsh dwelling near the western side of the dike, broke it down, and filled in the moats, the depredations extending on both sides of it the length of a bow-shot. Early on the following morning, the allies attacked King Offa's own camp beyond it, and slew great many of his soldiers. The place of the concentrated Welsh attack is still called Sutton Wallis. This name seems to be correctly Sutum Wallis, or the "Attacking Welsh," which is a locality in county Hereford. Others state that King Offa escaped, but narrowly, greatly exasperated. He or his successor afterwards continued to worry the Welsh, who were equally busy in worrying the Saxons during several subsequent years.

At length the two rival nations met in a pitched battle on Rhuddlan Plain, or Moors, apparently between Rhyl and the Conway River. The Welsh army was commanded by Prince Caradoc, and the Saxons, of Mercia, *i.e.* the country east of the dike, extending through eastern county Radnor to the sea below Holywell, by, it is reported by some, King Offa himself. Here a doubt is introduced as to who really commanded the Saxons. During the desperate conflict that ensued Prince Caradoc fell, and the result was the Welsh under him became panic-stricken and retreated in the direction of where Llandudno now stands. A large portion of the Welsh in an effort to reach the Conway River, with the intention of escaping over it, were hemmed in by the victorious Saxons between the river and the sea, and were terribly mauled there. An estate there, Lord Mostyn's, still bears the name, Clawdd-Alaeth, or the "Dike of Woe." Whether that name was intended to apply to Offa's Dike as a whole, or to a particular part of it, is not clear, but the weight of evidence favours the latter theory

and that it is a name alluding to the ruthless massacre of the Welsh in that immediate locality, and the awful carnage around gallant Prince Caradoc's dead body.

Wales still sings the weird dirge composed in memory of that carnage, a dirge called *Cyvlafan Morfa Rhuddlan* ("the Slaughter on Rhuddlan Plain by the Sea"). The Saxons, and it seems certain Lloegrian Britons in alliance with them against those of Wales, not content with victory, proceeded next to slaughter the women and children of the defeated; and for that purpose, hied away through towns, villages, and farmhouses, west of the dike. Probably this was in revenge for the assistance given by some of them to their fellow-countrymen in the former bursting of Offa's Dike, on the dark night of St. Stephen's Day, A.D. 776, and the massacre of the Saxons at Sutton Wallis by them. The authority for the statement that King Offa fell later at the last-mentioned locality is the Hengwrt MSS.

Dr. Owen Pughe states that the meaning of the name Powys is "Settlement." It is the name of what was formerly a small principality lying between the Wye and the Severn, with Shrewsbury as its principal city or town. There is still another Powys farther from Wales, formed by King Offa. Offa's Dike runs through the first-named Powys. The name, therefore, appears to have been originally that the Welsh gave to the dike, and to signify a "Mark," spelt "Meark" by the Saxons. Shrewsbury is by the Welsh named *Amwythddig*. The ancient Welsh natives were very clever and apt in inventing place-names, almost always given as commemorative. *Amwyth* signifies "fierceness," and *dig* "wrath." We have in the native compound name of Shrewsbury the meaning "Fierce-Wrath," in allusion to the fierce frontier encounters on each side of the two dikes, between the natives and the Saxons. The name is composed of *Po* and *Gwys* or *Fiat*.

Warrington gives the following as being the boundaries of Powys: On the north, by North Wales; on the east, by the country which lies between Chester and Hereford; on the south, by England; on the west, by the river Wye, the eastern fringe of Wales as outlined by the course of the

dike through Radnorshire, passing a short distance on the east of Knighton, to the sea beyond Holywell, county Flint. On the west of Shrewsbury, Powys was divided from Deheubarth, or south-western part of Wales, which most misleadingly is often rendered "South" Wales, by mountains. That part of Powys lying between Wales and England was often the scenes of fierce encounters between the natives and the prowling Saxons and kindred footpads, but fierce and fearless. Because often changing owners, sometimes occupied by the natives and sometimes by Saxons, the history of Powys is much mixed.

The Welsh, after a while, refused to acknowledge Offa's Dike as their boundary on the east; this refusal resulted in Powys being eventually divided into two small provinces, under the names, Powys Madoc and Powys 'Wenwynwyn. The whole of Powys must have been long regarded by the natives of Gwent and Morganwg as a buffer state between them and the west of England and Mercia generally.

In Caradoc of Llancarvan's valuable chronicle, under the date A.D. 784, he states: "This year Mercia was devastated by the Welsh, and Offa made another dike nearer to his own dominions than was the first one. The new dike left a belt of land between the Wye and Severn, running from Shrewsbury to Gloucester. This seems to imply that the said space was intended as a neutral ground where Welsh and English might meet for exchange of commodities, or, in other words, hold fairs and markets, in Anglo-Saxon called "Chopping," hence the name of the town Chepstow on the Wye.

It will be borne in mind that the first dike of King Offa starts on the eastern bank of the Wye River, close to its junction with the Severn. In the space between the two dikes was the Welsh tribe of Elystan Clodrydd, which eventually became to be acknowledged as one of the five royal tribes of Wales. It will be noticed the date given for the construction of the second dike is ten years subsequent to the reported death of King Offa. Under the date A.D. 823, the Welsh *Brut* has the following: "The country

of Powys was ravaged by the Saxons who took young children from their (Welsh) mothers, and reared them up to be Saxons, a practice common with those people." It was the breed they sought for ! Again : "In A.D. 838 those Britons who still resided in England were compelled to become Saxons themselves, or to depart from that country within three months." Here we learn the date of the complete subjection of Lloegr (England) to Saxon rule.

In A.D. 843 Rhoderi the Great began to reign over all Wales, but was out of necessity obliged to abandon the Welsh who were remaining in England, and they became all "Saxons." Thus in the mysterious order of Providence the blood of the lively Celt became amalgamated with that of the stolid German. The kingdom of Rhoderi did not embrace Powys.

In A.D. 893, the Danes invaded Glamorgan, and burnt Llantwit Major, Kynffig (west of Bridgend), Llancarvan, Brecon, and Builth. On their return while ravaging Caerleon-on-Usk, they were attacked by Prince Owen, son of Morgan, who seems to have slain most of them, implied by the laconic words of the *Brut*, "the survivors of them escaped across the Severn to Somerset. But many of them on reaching there were slain by both Saxons and Britons."

It seems that till now, the Britons west of Salisbury, were not in "the England" of the Welsh *Bruts*: that "England" was east of that line on which was the boundary of the West Saxons, or Wessex. On this occasion the Saxons of the districts of Brits Tow, or Britons' Town (Caer-y-Dwr), now Bristol, united together to annihilate the Danes. On old maps the west of England is all rendered West Wales, or West Welsh. It seems the name Wells is a name derived from the name Wales.

The Britons called Bath, Caer-Bathon. The reader will see that name differs from the modern form of the name. The Saxon sought to change it to Acmencastra, meaning "Camp of the Oakmen," or the Druids. By this we infer that in the early days of the Saxons in Britain, Bath was still distinguished for its Druid inhabitants.

Overlooking Bath is a hill called Lansdown. This in the ancient native tongue is Llan-Din, or the "High Hill of the Sacred Mound." Near Bath is a locality called Combe Down. Here again we have two ancient Britannic names; correctly spelt it is Cwm-Din, or "the Glen of the Sacred Hill," for Din is one of the appellations given by the Druids to their sacred enclosure, if in its centre was a round mound as their emblem of the world, as, in common with all ancient nations, they supposed was the shape of the world, surrounded by the ocean (Ps. xxiv.). Homer, in describing the shield of Achilles as an emblem of the world, describes its completion by the God Vulcan, and then "with his last hand, he poured the ocean round." Those ancient Britannic names are interesting as reminiscent of the original inhabitants of those parts.

The Other Divisions of Wales.—The small kingdom of Glamorgan and Gwent, now county Monmouth, stood apart from the rest of Wales from immemorial times. As a petty kingdom it had its own royal family, whose pride and isolation, to the latest days of its existence, brought about its utter ruin. But this royal family appear to be lineally descended from the earliest family which sat at the head of all Britannic affairs in pre-Roman times. The earlier limits of this little kingdom were the Severn on the east and the Tawe on the west. Then as the consequence of the pressure of England from the east, the boundary on the east was drawn in, to the river Wye, and that on the west to the river Neth or Neath, doubtless from the pressure against it by the kingdom of Deheubarth, or southern-west part, having its seat of government in the town of Caermarthen, and its royal residence at Dinevor Castle, Llan-Deilo Vawr.

The Romans gave the name Siluria to the country from the Tawe to the Severn at Gloucester. It seems the name is derived from the Kimmerian "Iselwyr," or lowlanders, in contrast with the inhabitants dwelling in the higher regions extending towards North Wales. To West Wales the Romans gave the name Demetia. That name is from the native name Dyved or Teiviaid; the people dwelling where

flows the Teivi River. North Wales was called by two names by the Romans, namely, Ordovia and Venedotia. The first signifies, "Above the Dovey River." Ven-e-Dotia seems to be derived from Gwen-Nyth, or the "Holy Spinner" or "Rotatoress," like the Goddess Neith of the Egyptians. The river Neath in South Wales is named after her. This lands us in the region of Bardic mythology, into which St. Catherine wandered with her wheel.

The present boundaries of the dioceses of Llandaff, stopping on the west of the river Wye, describe the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Gwent and Morganwg, and the limits of St. David's on the east the boundary of the kingdom of Demetia; and St. Asaph and Bangor dioceses, all North Wales including Anglesey. The said divisions of Wales claimed each a separate sovereignty, and very rarely they agreed to co-operate even in the face of imminent danger. Thus the strength of the once powerful Kimmerians was frittered away.

In A.D. 1188, a great friend of the people of Wales refers in scathing terms to the practice among the leading families of intermarrying by near relations. The area of choice was very limited; each family claimed to be of undoubted "royal" origin, and deemed it a disgrace to bring plebeian blood into the blue blood of Troy and Trojans. The consequence of the intermarriages of near kindred was that the leading families became strongly tainted with insanity, with the most appalling consequences to the masses of their fellow-countrymen who revered the old families, but who thus drove them into destruction. The practical Norman knights made merry over the high pretensions of the leading families of Wales to superior blood. Shakespeare, who noticed everything, was amused at this national vanity, weakness, and peculiarity, and he puts in the mouth of Hotspur the following words applied to Owen Glyndwr, but meant as descriptive of the amiable vanity of his people:—

*"Hotspur (to Mortimer). I cannot choose : sometimes he
angers me*

With telling me of the moldwarp and the ant,

INTRODUCTION

Of the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies,
 And of a dragon and a finless fish,
 A clip-wing'd griffin, and a moulten raven,
 A couching lion, and a ramping cat,
 And such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff,
 As puts me from my faith. I tell you what,—
 He held me, but last night, at least nine hours,
 In reckoning up the several devils' names,
 That were his lackeys. I cried 'humph,' and 'well, go to,'
 But mark'd him not a word."

—*Henry IV.*, Act ii.

But the most interesting illustration of this vanity of the old Kimmerian families is given by Giraldus Cambrensis in 1188. States he: "When Prince Gruffyth, son of King Rhys ap Tudor, accompanied by Earls Milo, Payne, Fitzjohn of Hereford, and Ewyas respectively, was near Llangors Lake, Brecon, Earl Milo, wishing to draw forth from Gruffyth some discourse concerning his innate nobility, rather jocularly than seriously, thus addressed him: 'It is an ancient saying in Wales, that if the natural prince of the country coming to this lake, shall order the birds to sing, they will immediately obey him,' &c. (*circa* A.D. 1120: *Itinerary*, chapter ii.). Prince Gruffyth was one of the most brilliant of the Welsh chieftains of Wales, and yet those Normans presumed to chaff him; and the Welsh prince leaped from his horse, and put the test into operation, and Giraldus assumes it was successful in answer to the prince's prayer! Thus we see the great churchman of Manorbeer Castle was still, a century later, himself imbued with the same national weakness as to believe it.

The Camp of Ancient Kings.—The part of Britain comprising the foregoing three divisions of Wales is now called the Principality of Wales. Those three divisions first emerge into history immediately after the third invasion of Britain by the Romans in A.D. 43, but according to native records it was the fourth. There are still echoes of most interesting long nomadic periods of an earlier Britannic high civilisation than the periods beginning with the coming of the Romans into Britain. A most valuable

source of information touching those epochs of an earlier civilisation, is local place - names, natural phenomena, rivers, junctions of streams with each other, and with the sea, such as Cymmers, Abers, mountains, &c. All local place-names are finely descriptive, and all still reflect the poetic sentiments which the landscapes, &c., suggest to the cultured minds of those who first beheld them. They remain as monuments of the poetic souls of the earliest dwellers in the country of Wales.

There were long centuries of great activities in the intercourse between the western and the eastern world through the ports of Britain and those of Tyre and Sidon, Palestine; Carthage, Troy, &c., and between Greece and Italy, before the Roman intercourse with this country began. We obtain many glimpses of the might of Britain under Brennus, and so forth. But the copiousness of Latin literature of a later period has shortened the range of vision of modern scholars, curtailing it at the first invasion of Julius Cæsar in 55 B.C.

The still earlier civilisation remains to be explored by the learned. Astonished Julius Cæsar discovered in Britain a power equal to his own, with all the characteristics of the East by way of government, armies with iron chariots, laws, and a religion, which France, and, therefore, the entire continent of Europe, acknowledged to Cæsar its superiority as a teacher. Julius Cæsar states, the youth of Gaul came to Britain to be educated. It is known now that "the Isles afar off," "the Isles of the Gentiles" beyond the Great Sea, or the Mediterranean, were really the Isles of Britannia, and not those of Greece, as has been the habit to believe.

The Rhath Mounds, the Llans, &c., dotting Great Britain and Ireland with its Round Towers, are most venerable relics of that earlier civilisation, and, above all, the copious and rich ancient language of Britain, bear most remarkable evidence as to the high culture of those whose wealth of experience for every phase of human thought, sacred and secular, bear undying testimony to the great scholarship of those who taught Pythagoras of Greece.

To those long centuries of pre-Roman times belong Stonehenge, mighty and interesting Avebury, with its Serpent of stones two miles long. Circles of stones on ends, pillars, otherwise round towers, cromlechs, so erroneously called Llech y "Vilast," instead of correctly. Llech y Voel Aes, or the "Bare Shield of Cerdwen, the Queen of Heaven," meaning as a symbol the round or circle of the world above the northern rational horizon, the only one known to the ancients. Homer, as already stated, describes the same thing under the figure of the Shield of Achilles, and "two cities," otherwise two hemispheres. To them Britain was an emblem of the world-shield, held up above the ocean; each of their circles implied the same shield, as also did each round shield braced on the arm of each Briton over his heart.

Of all the heroic people of Britain encountered by the legions of Imperial Rome, the Silurians, inhabiting what is now designated South Wales, were the most valiant and cultured. Tacitus, writing of them in the first century of the Christian era, bears the following testimony: "Silurum gens non atrocitate, clementia mutibatur; validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem," or "Neither violence nor clemency could subdue the valiant Silurians." Tacitus, describing the stand made by the Silurians under the immortal Caradoc ap Bran (Caractacus, A.D. 52) at Caer Caradoc, near Knighton, county Radnor, states: "The intrepid countenances of their whole army, and the spirit which animated them, struck the Roman commander, Ostorius, with astonishment" (*Annals*, Book xii. s. 32). Here is another graphic touch by the great Latin historian: "The chieftains of the various tribes were seen busy in every direction. They raced along the ranks of their army. They exhorted their warriors, they roused the timid, they inured the valiant, and by promises inflamed the ardour of all." Before them were the mailed veterans of the Roman Empire, who had vanquished on a hundred battlefields. "Caractacus," continues Tacitus, "was seen alternately in every part of his army. He galloped along the lines, exclaiming aloud: 'This day,

my comrades, this very day, decides the fate of all Britain' ” (*Ibid*, section 34).

The great trenches of Caractacus are still seen there, in the hillside. It is sacred ground! After a desperate shooting by both sides, the Roman legions locked their iron shields over their heads, and advanced like the encased roof of a slated house. All of the warriors of Rome were thus concealed from the Britons, who, Tacitus admits, were superior as archers and crossbowmen to the Roman army. This shell formation of the Romans advancing, threw the unarmoured Britons into confusion, and they scattered in all directions.¹ It seems that Caractacus was momentarily expecting his relative, General Gwyn, to arrive with reinforcements, and he hied to meet him. But they missed each other, and while General Gwyn was conquering Caerwent (Venta Silurum), Caractacus was captured by Argwedd Voeddig, the wife of that general, and, in chains, he was handed a captive to the Romans, apparently to Ostorius. If that be so, the traitress was following her husband with a desire to thwart him. She is the Queen Cartismandua of the north of England (Brynach, “Small Hills,” of the Britons, and Brigante of Tacitus: *The Annals*, Book xii. section 36). Caractacus and his son, Cyllin (Linus), and his daughter Eurgan (Claudia of Cæsar’s household) were afterwards placed at Rome in the care of Pomponia Graecenia, wife of the Roman Regent or Viceroy in London, General Plautus, commander in the invasion of A.D. 43, having under him Vespasian and his son Titus, afterwards Emperors. Pomponia Graecenia was charged at Rome with having “embraced a foreign superstition,” which must have been Christianity. In the last chapter of St. Paul’s 2nd Epistle to Timothy, we find Linus, Claudia, Pudens, visiting St. Paul in prison, after his second appearance

¹ The Romans had often attempted the shell formation of shields before, on the level plains between Bath and Southampton, but had been as often put to rout by the thundering advance of the Britannic war-chariots. But at Caer Caradoc, county Radnor, the hilly country made the chariots inoperative.

before Nero Cæsar, whose face he compares to the mouth of a lion. A fourth visitor, whom St. Paul calls Eubulus, is of the party. He must have been Caractacus; for he would hardly have permitted his young son and young daughter to visit such a den without him. We believe the Latin name is adopted, as having the sound of the Silurian word for "greatly troubled," viz. Helbulus, which was the correct description of Caractacus's state of mind at the time. Add to that the charge made against Pomponia Graecenia, and we bring St. Paul very near.

Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, states the Britons fought the Romans during forty years: from A.D. 43 to 83. It seems that then (A.D. 83) a system of Home Rule, subject to Rome as the Imperial authority, was agreed upon between Britons and Romans.

In the invasion of A.D. 43 the Roman base of operations was the Isle of Wight, and it appears they assailed in the direction of Bath and Bristol. Caractacus was the Britannic commander-in-chief, and Roman history states that until A.D. 52 the army of Britain successfully prevented the Roman advance beyond the Bristol Avonia or Avon, another vernacular name given by the ancient Britons. At that time the same Cartismandua had caused a diversion in favour of the Romans on the left of the Britannic army under Caractacus, which compelled a retreat across the Severn *via* Gloucester, where the army was placed between the rivers Severn and Wye, with, no doubt, bridges cut down. The Romans crossed the Severn opposite Caerwent—their camp is still seen on the Severn shore—and thus got between Caractacus and his base in Glamorgan. This necessitated the hurried retreat up to Radnorshire mentioned in the foregoing. The foregoing is given here as an authentic description as to the condition of the Britons when the Latin annals begin, and also when Christianity first arrived in Britain: in that part called Gwent (Wiccii), and what came later to be called county Glamorgan, or Gwlad Morgan the Courteous. Underlying the name Gwent or Gwy-Hynt ("Course of the Wye") is Morganwig or Morgan's Wick. Morgan here signifies the Sun as Sea Born.

HISTORY OF WALES

CHAPTER I

QUEEN BOADICEA IN NORTH WALES—HER MARCH THROUGH ENGLAND—HER DEATH AT NEW- MARKET, FLINTSHIRE

“Regions Cæsar never knew
Thy posterity shall sway ;
Where his eagles never flew,
None invincible as they.”

—COWPER.

It is well known that both Tiberius Cæsar and Claudius Cæsar issued imperial edicts to destroy the Druids.¹ The Druids were the bards, minstrels, and vocalists of the Britons and Gauls. Thus, after the invasion of Britain in A.D. 43 by the Roman legions, they pursued the Druids to the death wherever the legions penetrated. The Druids were non-combatants, and each in his own sphere of influence proclaimed war as “Angen Wrthyn” or “Repulsive Necessity.” After the Romans established their base of operations in the Isle of Wight, and thence invaded the south of England, there was, naturally, great agitation, what would now be described as a sensation among all the priests. The younger Druids doubtless joined the British army, or armies, but the aged, together with the wives and daughters of all ages of Druid priests, made their timely escape to Mona, now Anglesea. Thus the whole of Britain was denuded of all ministers of religion. But there cannot

¹ *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. chap. ii. p. 14. Polybius, and Juvenal, *Satire* 13, allude to this cruelty.

be any doubt but that the Archons, and other dignified priests of the Britons, continued to exercise from the Isle of Mona, by messengers passing to and fro, a most powerful influence upon the armies of Britain in the field. It was a wise policy of the Roman Empire, elsewhere to respect the religion of every nation they conquered. A nation would be permitted to cry "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" to its heart's content, as long as those who shouted did not disturb the public peace; at Jerusalem, the only restriction placed upon the Jews was, that the official vestments of the high priest had to be delivered there to the custody of the Roman viceroy of Cæsar. Thus we are on safe ground when stating that Mona, at this time, was thronged with escaped Druids and their daughters; the sons would be facing the enemy with their fellow-countrymen. We thus see why the Romans singled out Mona for a night attack from the Menai Straits.

Tacitus—who was afterwards the son-in-law of Agricola who was on the staff of Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman commander in those parts of Britain which had been subdued, aged 20, and was present in the night surprise of Mona and the subsequent massacre of the Druids near the shore—must have obtained his description of the awful scene of the massacre from Agricola. The vividness of the description is obviously that of an eye-witness of it. The following is Tacitus's account: "Suetonius Paulinus resolved to subdue the Isle of Mona, a place inhabited by a warlike people, and a common refuge for all discontented Britons."

"In order to facilitate his approach to a difficult and deceitful shore, he ordered a number of flat-bottomed boats to be constructed."

It is obvious these were constructed far from the Menai Straits; doubtless on the river Ribble, above Southport, Lancashire, which is fifty miles north of Anglesea, and that the galleys were rowed across early in the night, and that they entered the Menai Straits long before the dawn of next day.

"In the flat-bottomed boats," continues Tacitus,

"Suetonius drafted over his infantry, while the cavalry, partly by fording over the shallows" (of the Mona shore) "and partly by swimming their horses, advanced to gain a footing on the island." The cavalry must have come in the same fleet.

The following is the scene Agricola beheld: "On the Mona shore stood the Britons closely embodied and prepared for action. Women were seen rushing through the ranks in wild disorder; their apparel funereal; their hair loose in the wind, in their hands flaming torches"—a certain indication it was night time—"and their whole appearance resembling the frantic rage of the furies."

Here we suggest the probability that the young maidens were the first to hear the sounds of the landing from their boats on the Menai, and mistakenly lit torches, which had the dire effect of directing the attention of the Romans to the venerable priests they had come to slay.

"The Druids," continues Tacitus, "were ranged in order with hands uplifted invoking the gods, and pouring forth horrible imprecations." It is far more probable that they were showing by uplifting their hands, they bore no weapons as means of defence, and thus appealed for Roman mercy. The Druids spoke, if they spoke at all, what is now by the English called the Welsh language, and it is not likely Agricola understood what they said.

"The novelty of the sight," Tacitus goes on to state, "struck the Romans with awe and terror. They stood in stupid amazement as if their limbs were benumbed, riveted to one spot, a mark for the enemy. The exhortations of the general diffused new vigour through the ranks, and the soldiers by mutual reproaches inflamed each other to deeds of valour. They felt the disgrace of yielding to a troop of women and a band of fanatic priests." Roman valour is here a wretched misnomer. The soldiers were far more manly than the general.

"They," states our author, "advanced their standards and rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. The Britons (women and priests) perished in the flames which they themselves had kindled. . . . While Suetonius was

employed in making his arrangements to secure the Island of Mona (A.D. 60) he received intelligence 'Britain had revolted.'"

QUEEN BOADICEA

It is a most curious circumstance that authors attribute Queen Boadicea's tremendous revolt against the Romans in Britain to her own private wrongs, which were very great. But it is perfectly clear that the revolt was due entirely to the massacre of the Druids on the Menai Straits, and doubtless other parts of Anglesea. Every hamlet in Britain must have been thrown into wild excitement, as the tidings of the atrocious calamity ran like a devouring fire through the whole of Britain.

Boadicea was the widow of King Prasutagus, who ruled East Anglia. He had died, and she and her two daughters dwelt at Caister (called Venta Icenorum by the Romans), three miles from Norwich. Mr. Horsley states that traces of the walls are still visible.

In her, frenzied Britain discovered a leader. She was

"A British warrior queen
Bleeding from Roman rods."

She mounted her war-chariot, followed, it appears, by her two daughters in another. All capable of bearing arms raced to her from all directions. Colchester (Camalodunum), fifty-one miles east of London, fell before her and her army. Petilius Cerealis, with the IX Legion, was on his way to relieve Colchester, but the Britons annihilated the IX Legion, and he and his cavalry escaped into the entrenchments. Caius Deciamus, the Roman procurator of the province, escaped to Gaul. It was the XIV Legion Suetonius had with him doing the murderous deeds in Anglesea.

The XX Legion, called the Victorious, was stationed at Chester. Boadicea was at the head of 200,000 Britons, with innumerable war-chariots containing what seem to be a great many British ladies accompanying the queen. The XX Legion raced from Chester towards Bangor,

where it appears they joined the XIV Legion returned from Anglesea.

The flight of the XX Legion from Chester indicates the direction in which Queen Boadicea and her vast army were advancing rapidly. Boadicea halted her army at the lower end of Rhuddlan Plain among Druidic remains with, it appears, the centre at the place in co. Flint now called Newmarket. War-chariots were a novelty to the Romans, and it seems that young Agricola, at the sight of so many ladies in the chariots, supposed they contained families who had come to see the war. But Suetonius himself knew better. He knew the chariots were terribly formidable in war, with their scythes on the wheels and their long stout spikes on poles in front, between each pair of horses attached to each war-chariot.

"The XIV Legion and the veterans, the XX Legion," states Tacitus, "and the auxiliaries from the adjacent stations, having joined Suetonius, his army amounted to little less than 10,000 men. Thus reinforced he resolved, without loss of time, to bring on a decisive action. For this purpose, he chose a place encircled by woods, narrow at the entrance, and sheltered at the rear by a thick forest."

We thus perceive that the Roman army had marched through that "thick forest." He had not dared to risk an encounter with the British war-chariots in the open plains from the Conway River to the bottom of Rhuddlan Plain. He had marched *via* Llanrwst, and between St. Asaph and Denbigh, from Bangor so as to avoid the open plains near the seashore. Suetonius only sought a way of escape from Boadicea and her army. That is the meaning of his words, no doubt uttered in the hearing of Agricola. Those words, as given by Tacitus, are the following, spoken to his army: "Keep your ranks, rush forward to close attack, bear all down with your shields, and *hew a passage* with your swords. The Romans advanced in the form of a wedge, the infantry in the centre flanked on both sides by cavalry."

"The Britons," states Tacitus, "advanced with ferocity

and discharged their darts at random. The Romans presented a close embodied line. The narrow defile gave them the shelter of a rampart. In that formation the Romans rushed forward in the form of a wedge. The auxiliaries followed with equal ardour, and the cavalry at the same time poured down upon the enemy, and with their pikes overpowered all who dared to make a stand."

Thus it is intimated by the word "down" that the Romans were on higher ground than the Britons.

"The Britons betook themselves to flight," states Tacitus, "but their vehicles (chariots?) in the rear obstructed their passage. A dreadful slaughter followed; neither sex nor age was spared. The animals falling in one conspicuous carnage added to the heaps of slain. The glory of the day," adds the Roman historian, "was equal to the most splendid victory of ancient times." He further states that the Romans lost 400 slain and the wounded did not exceed that number.

Then Tacitus, departing apparently from the narrative of the eye-witness Agricola, states that "according to some writers, not less than 80,000 Britons were put to the sword."

Boadicea had at least 200,000 warriors; Dio states 230,000. That fact conveys that they occupied a vast tract of country. Tacitus's remarks convey that the charge of the Romans was in direct line into the centre of the opposing Britons, and that in the onrush of the Romans they rolled back the opponents upon the rear. We read that Boadicea and her two daughters were last seen by the Romans in one war-chariot passing through the ranks of the tribes.

Half a mile in the rear of the first point of meeting of the opposing forces is an obelisk called Mäen Achwynvan, or the place of the "Sacred Stone of Lamentation and Weeping."¹ It is 12 feet in height. This appears to be the spot where heroic Boadicea and her equally brave daughters were slain. The situation appears to convey that her war-chariot was in the centre, and in direct line with the first rush

¹ *Vide Pennant's Tours*, vol. i. p. 18. It has been removed to Downing Park, Pennant's residence.

of the 10,000 Romans, and that in the rush of Romans her chariot was carried back upon the chariots held in reserve behind her archers, and that it was then she and her two daughters perished among the tumbled war-chariots. Tacitus mentions a rumour as to the manner of Boadicea's death. Dio states she died a "natural" death. She was the most conspicuous personage then in all Britain, and the fact that Agricola was unable to inform his son-in-law what had become of her, proves that she disappeared in the carnage, and also that the Romans did not remain there long enough to discover what had happened to the valiant Queen of the Britons. Her mangled remains were doubtless among the carnage of warriors, war-horses, and war-chariots. The Rev. R. W. Morgan, B.D., in his *History of the Welsh* (p. 117), states that the obelisk mentioned above was locally known as Carreg Bedd Buddig, or, in English, the "Gravestone of Boadicea." Thus we learn that the Britons, after the Romans departed from the scene, found her remains, and those no doubt of her two daughters, and in the midst of a nation in tears, interred the three there. Touching the obelisk, there are several matters worthy of observation. It has no name inscribed upon it, but a sculptured human figure naked. Time has worn away the sculptured features, but the right hand holds a spear, and an aspect of activity is given to the figure. At the top on each side, as in a basin, is the figure of the Eastern cross—the shape of the original Celtic cross of the Old British Church, distinguished from the later Latin cross. The sculptured ornamentation of both sides of the obelisk is very artistic and beautiful, and must have been executed by a master of his craft. The presence of the cross and the absence of a name, and the image of a warrior, indicate three things: (1) It was erected after the introduction of Christianity; (2) it was erected during the Roman occupation of Britain, when inscribing her name upon it would have been deemed treason against the Empire of Rome; (3) the figure of a warrior implies that it was not erected for religious uses.

Now Tacitus, evidently relating what Agricola told

him, states that the Britons had placed the vehicles containing the ladies in the lower end of the plain mentioned before, as being on the left forefront of the Roman army on the march through the woods. This is a clear proof that the Romans had themselves avoided the said open plain, now occupied by the British charioteers as a place of safety for the numerous courtly ladies on the right forefront of the scene of the coming conflict between the two armies. The open plain was clearly Morva Rhuddlan, or "Rhuddlan Plain by the Sea," as the native name signifies. Dio Cassius, writing about A.D. 155, gives the substance of Boadicea's speech to her army just before the awful conflict began. There is one thing in the report of her speech which gives to it an air of probability, namely, that she invoked the assistance of the goddess *Annhras*. *Annhras* has been rendered in several ways by foreign writers, but the name is common in Wales to this day, as the name of the Spirit of Destruction in violent speed. She is evidently identical with the open-winged Red Dragon.

Another thing mentioned by Dio is that, on the eve of the conflict, Boadicea let out of her war-chariot a live hare. In Greece it was fabled that the God Pan, while once in peril from another spirit, had taken refuge in the body of a hare, hence all hares became sacred. We thus discover that Greek fables had now influenced the religious school of Druidism which had reared Boadicea.

A still more remarkable object of interest in the same locality is a vast barrow. It is half a mile above Newmarket, co. Flint. We give the particulars from Lewis's *Topography of Wales*.

It is called "Gob 'r Leni." All sorts of conjectures have been adduced as to the meaning of the name. Now, a legion is in modern Welsh called *Lleng*, and the plural *Llengau*. But anciently a legion was called in that language *Leon*, as in the Welsh name of Chester: *Caer-Leon*, Gawr (Camp of the Giant Legion), and *Caer-Leon-on-Usk*, Mon. It is obvious that "*Leni*" was the earliest plural in Welsh of *Leon* (Legion), therefore, that *Leni* signifies "Legions," and that the correct form of the name is Gob ar Leni, or the

"Barrow upon Legions," and that underneath it lie at least many of the Romans who fell in the general carnage in A.D. 60. Its enormous size is significant. It covers an acre and a half of ground, and is about 12 yards in height.

In the same locality are places bearing the following significant names: "Hillside of the Arrows," "Hillside of the Slaughter," "Woe Hollow," &c. There are a great many private or single barrows in the locality, as if the friends of many of the Britons who fell on that occasion had travelled from afar to this place in order to render their slain friends private interment.

The ancient Britons were adepts at giving to noted spots monumental place-names.

Now, the earliest name of Newmarket we find was Rhiw (Rue) Lyvnwyd, or the "Hilly Passage that was Harrowed." The Britons never gave the name Rhiw (Rue) except to a way passing over a declivity. Harrowed signifies here not that the Rhiw was harrowed, for people do not harrow an open way, or a public passage. Therefore, it appears the name Rhiw-Lyvnwyd means the "Passage where the Britons Harrowed the Romans."

It is on record in the Iolo MSS. that at the battle of Bryn Owen, Glamorgan, when Owen Glyndwr beheld Cadwgan, of Aberforchwy, Rhondda, leading to the charge the Glamorgan cavalry, he cried in Welsh, "Harrow them with thy battle-axe, Cadwgan!" That indicates the use of the word in Kimmerian warfare in the olden time.

The Second Legion of Augustus was stationed at Caerleon-on-Usk, Mon. At the moment it became known to Suetonius Paulinus in Mona that Queen Boadicea was leading revolted Britain against him, he sent with all speed to Pænius Posthumus, commanding the said Legion, to march to his assistance. This must have meant making a demonstration from Caerleon-on-Usk, co. Monmouth, against the left flank of the advancing army of Boadicea on its march towards Chester. But Pænius Posthumus was unable to obey the orders, owing, it appears, to the threatening attitude of the warlike inhabitants of South

Wales (Siluria). When Posthumus afterwards heard of the achievements of the XIV and XX Legions, he was so exasperated by the fact he had been unable to obey the orders of his general, that "he fell on his sword, and expired on the spot." (Tacitus's *Annals*, section xxxvii.)

CHAPTER II

THE WELSH KING LUCIUS (LLEURWG) AND POPE ELEUTHERIUS, A.D. 169

AN immense amount of controversy has agitated the doves of history touching the question as to who first introduced Christianity to Britain. The Welsh native records, preserved in the language of ancient Britain, convey that it was introduced in the days of the Apostles, one giving the date as A.D. 55, another A.D. 60. These records are corroborated by a work bearing the name of Galen and of Gildas; and many of the early Fathers, who, almost immediately succeeded the Apostles, assert that St. Paul himself "preached the Gospel in the utmost bounds of the West," which in those days was supposed to be Wales, as *Britannia Secunda*. It is very curious that the words used are, "utmost bounds of the West," and not *Britannia*. At that time, and ever since 55 B.C. when Julius Cæsar first invaded Britain, no part of the world was better known at Rome than *Britannia*. Why, then, was not *Britannia* mentioned by name? Was it not because the writers sought to indicate the "utmost bounds in the west of *Britannia* itself"? Until the discovery of the power of steam, and using it in navigation, Britain was as accessible by sea to Roman sails as it is at the present day. In the Institute Museum at Bath are altars, which were dug up near the city, dedicated in Roman times to Neptune, the Roman allegorical God of the Ocean, as thank-offerings for safe voyages from Rome to Britain.

It is well known to historians that great rivalry existed between the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople, called also the Church of the East, and now the Greek Church, as to which of the two was the lineal

descendant of the Church of the Apostles at Jerusalem. In the past the "Apostolic succession" was regarded with veneration and awe, as it should be. But what lent the question the utmost gravity and importance was that, without that succession, Christian decrees by the Church were regarded as invalid and unauthorised and downright impostures.

What immensely weakened the claims of the Roman Church to being the Church of the "Apostolic succession" was the flourishing Church of Britain, which had not descended from either of the rival Churches of Constantinople and Rome, and possessing the testimony of the early Fathers that it had been established by St. Paul in person in Wales. What added great force to this evidence of the early Eastern Fathers was, that the earliest Royal Records of Wales confirmed or corroborated the testimony of holy men, testifying it before any one thought of such a controversy ever arising.

Now, the Church of Rome, chafing under the weakness of her claim, launched forth very early the statement that King Lucius, in A.D. 169, had dispatched Welsh missionaries to Pope Eleutherius, in the above year, from the present co. Glamorgan—an indication where the said Royal Records were—inviting his Holiness to send missionaries from Rome to baptize him (Lucius) and thereby admit him into the Church of Rome; for that is what is meant.

Once this could be established, it would prove that the Church of Britain was the daughter and not the sister of the papal See. It is stated that his Holiness complied in A.D. 169, and sent a letter and missionaries to King Lucius, and baptized and confirmed him as a Christian.

It is asserted that the Welshmen sent to the Pope by King Lucius were Eluanus and Medivianus. Later monks, apparently better native scholars, have given to the above two names a more Welsh and less Latin aspect, and have rendered them Elvan and Medwy. In the native tongue of Lucius those names signify "Element" and "Corn Harvest." We are further told that the Pope sent with

those named two others, viz. Fagan and Dyvan. Those two names imply "Bright Fate" and "Thy Place."

The Pope's letter, purporting to have been sent to Glamorgan, is dated A.D. 169; but even in the Dark Ages it was felt that it was too risky to allege that the Britons had not, till then, heard of the Gospel, and the Pope is represented as writing in the letter as follows to King Lucius: "You have lately received, through the infinite mercy of God, into your kingdom, not only the Law (the Roman Civil Law), but the Christian Faith also; you have at your command both Testaments." It occurs to one here to ask, what more could Lucius require? Why did Lucius deem it necessary to send to the Pope for what he possessed already? The answer is obvious; Lucius is represented as seeking the Pope to exercise upon him the virtue which was supposed to belong only to the Pope, as the representative of St. Peter, to impart, through the gift of the Apostolic succession. Lucius is represented as being already a *nominal* Christian, familiar with the Old and New Testaments, but lacking the virtue of the Apostolic unction or chrism, which the Pope alone could impart, to admit one into the Christian commonwealth.

Of the reputed letter sent as alleged by King Lucius, not a scrap of it is forthcoming to establish that the Britannic Church had, through the King of Britain, acknowledged that, in A.D. 169, its own Christianity was spurious, as unauthorised by the successor of the Apostles. It is exactly the same as if the Greek Church had been similarly sought to acknowledge the same thing in favour of the Church of Rome. The word "lately" in the Pope's alleged letter is indefinite.

According to the Royal Records of Wales it is intimated that the Gospel came to Wales about the time of the terrible revolt of the Britons under Queen Boadicea—"that crafty Lioness!"—which occurred in A.D. 60. Therefore A.D. 169 was one hundred and eighty years subsequent to its introduction. It seems that the ecclesiastical writer is endeavouring to comprise those years under the word "lately." Lucius goes in the native records under

other names. Those are, Lles-ap-Coel, which translated means, "Benefit Son of Belief"; Lleurwg Mawr, that is "Great Luminary." Coel was the son of Cyllin (Linus), son of Caractacus, son of Bren or Bran, son of King Lear II., son of King Ceri.

The name Coel implies the same meaning as the English name Faith does now, and Linus giving this name to his son and successor appears to imply that he was of the Christian faith like himself.

Triad 42 is as follows: "Three Holy families there are: That of Linus, son of Bran [it should be grandson]; Linus, son of Kunedda Wledig; and Linus, son of Brychan Brycheiniog."

Bowles, in his *History of the Popes*, without any knowledge as to the existence of the vernacular Royal Records of Wales, states, Tertullian supposes Clement Romanus was ordained by St. Peter, and Linus by St. Paul, and upon the authority of the Apostolic Constitution, he was the son of Princess Claudia. This should be the brother of that inexpressibly interesting British princess, daughter of Caractacus.

What has induced historians to see some element of doubt in the statement is the apparent improbability there could be two Bishops of Rome at the same time, sanctioned by Peter and Paul to be their successors.

They strangely forget that St. Peter was delegated to the Christians of the circumcision, while St. Paul was the Apostle *par excellence* of the Gentiles, or of the uncircumcision (Galatians ii. 7).

It was natural to find the Hebrews who had become Christians, more ready to understand the teachings of Saints Paul and Peter than were the Gentiles, who had never before known anything about "Moses and the Prophets." Therefore, the Gentile Church at Rome needed a course of elementary teachings first, to bring them up to the same level in knowledge as that occupied by the Hebrews when they first became converts to Christianity. Those two schools of Christian teaching at Rome necessitated two separate teachers. The first two were St. Peter and St.

Paul ; the second were Linus and Clemens Romanus. All the Fathers agree that Linus and Princess Claudia were the same personages of that name whom we find in St. Paul's cell with him, after his second appearance before the monster Nero Cæsar (2 Timothy iv. 21).

Touching Clement Romanus, St. Paul mentions him as one whose name was entered in the Book of Life (Philippians iv. 3).

After closely studying the testimonies of those Christian Fathers who flourished soon after Apostolic times, the following seems to be the correct explanation.

For some years after the death of St. Peter in A.D. 66 and St. Paul in A.D. 68, both Linus and Clement led their respective schools of Christians at Rome. Eventually Linus departed and joined his royal kindred in Glamorgan, and after his departure from Rome the progress the Gentiles had already made in Hebrew literature qualified them to unite themselves to the school over which St. Peter had presided, and both now accepted St. Clement Romanus as their Chief Shepherd. But to this day the Church of Rome has Linus as the next Chief Shepherd after St. Peter. (Bowles, *History of the Popes*, vol. i. p. 2.)

In the earliest Welsh records, it is said that King Bran the Blessed first brought Christianity to Britain ; but in Triad 42, given above, the credit is given to Linus, his grandson, who is also called Cyllin, who was the only son of Caractacus.

This at first seems like a contradiction. But in the genealogy of the descendants of King Bran it is given under the 34th section that Caractacus was the son of Arch, and in the 41st that he was the son of King Bran. The editor, not knowing what the name "Arch" means, that it is an abbreviated form of the Greek *Archon*, and used now as in the name archbishop, meaning ruler, is at a loss to account for it as being applied to King Bran. What it really reveals to us is, that at first King Bran was made Archon, or Archbishop of the Apostolic Church of Britain ; but that after the return home of Linus-Cyllin, he having been

consecrated by St. Paul himself, the aged King Bran, his grandfather, resigned the archiepiscopal chair of the Church of Britain to Linus. Thus the next successor of St. Paul to the uncircumcised Gentiles at Rome became the Archbishop of the Christian Church in Britain, and to emphasise his belief in the Christian revelation, he had his first son and heir christened, or anointed, Faith, or Coel in the native language, as a proper name. These undesigned sparks of light illuminating ancient pages confirm matters in a remarkable manner. (Iolo MSS., pp. 343 and 349.)

When we think of the Roman occupation of Britain down to A.D. 409, it appears at first inexplicable, how Lucius could be king in A.D. 169. But the Silurian Royal Records are clear on the point; that from King Bran downwards the native sovereignty went on in regular order, father succeeded by his son, as if there were no Romans in Britain. This reveals to us that the Romans had failed to subdue the indomitable Silurians, and that the well-known testimony of Father Tertullian (A.D. 193-220) that Christianity had succeeded in "parts of Britain inaccessible to the Romans," applied expressly to Siluria, the present South Wales, ruled by the royal family of which Caractacus was, from a worldly point of view, the principal ornament. There is a further consideration worthy of attention. Two of the chief legions of the Roman Empire were stationed, not within Wales, but on its eastern frontier, namely, the II Legion of Augustus at Caerleon-on-Usk as the western outpost of Caerwent (Venta Silurum); and the XX Legion, called the Victorious, at Chester; and another the Gemini (Twins) at Gloucester, to support the joint legions at Caerwent and Caerleon-on-Usk. Those tried army corps were not there to protect Wales from England, but the reverse. Their positions seem to indicate that the Romans, having failed in their many attempts to crush the Kimmerians in Wales into submission, had finally acknowledged them in A.D. 84 as unconquerable (Invicta); and for the purpose of hemming them in among their "ancient mountains," they

placed permanent garrisons of about thirteen thousand Roman veterans to watch them lest they might come and invade the Roman province called Britannia Prima, now called England. Wales was dignified by the Romans by the name Britannia Secunda.

The other supposition—but improbable from what we have seen above—is that the Kings of Siluria were Satraps acknowledging the supreme authority of the Roman Empire. As for the laws of the Empire, it is certain they did not want or require them, for they had their own laws, descended from the Aesach or National Senate of Dyvnwawl Moelmud, one of the Druidic titles of the sun at the winter solstice, apparently given to some aged Moses of the ancient Britons, because of his matured wisdom and experience.

We now return to the further consideration of Pope Eleutherius's alleged letter. Archbishop Stillingfleet, on the great authority of Archbishop Ussher, states that the existence of King Lucius is proved, apart from the records of Wales, by two coins bearing his effigy, a cross, and the letters L.V.C. Bishop Lloyd, St. Asaph, in his *Ancient Church of Britain*, considers the letter fabulous. But the overwhelming proof it is so is the fact that the scriptural quotations it contains are taken word for word from St. Jerome's translation, made between A.D. 345 and 30th September A.D. 420, when he died. The letter must have been fabricated some time soon after the visit of St. Augustine, *circa* A.D. 600, to meet the seven Bishops of Wales, with a view to persuade them to place the Church of Britain, then retreated to its original headquarters in Wales, under the See of Rome. He met them at Caerleon-on-Usk—the spot is still called Augustine's Oak—but he was unsuccessful. Nennius in chapter ii. section 22, refers to the letter, and he wrote in the ninth century, which proves it was fabricated to obtain by pious fraud what St. Augustine had failed to obtain by other means.

The home of Caractacus was at Abergwardigion, or the "Meeting-Place of the Saved (or Released) Ones." It is now named Castell Llandinwyd, or "Thou art High,"

but in English St. Donats Castle.¹ Here Archbishop Linus must have been often seen.

Another Pope visited this place in A.D. 1145, namely, Nicholas Brekspere, as the guest of Sir Gilbert de Stradling; and this Pope had the impertinence to confirm the "rights" of the Normans to the co. Glamorgan (*vide* Iolo MSS., p. 450). Probably there then were traditions of Linus, which had the effect of attracting this Pope to the place.

In A.D. 1646, during the war between Charles I. and the Parliament, a third archbishop—an Irish one—made St. Donats Castle his "dwelling-place." He was Archbishop Ussher, doubtless the most learned of the three. On his way thither through the disturbed districts, his papers were purloined by some natives. On the following Sunday it was announced from every pulpit who the visitor was and the importance of the lost MSS. His Grace was a loyalist, and so were the men of Glamorgan, whose principal leader was Sir Edward Thomas, Llanmihangel Palace, Cowbridge. After the beheading of Charles, and the Parliament assumed full control of the realm, the said Sir Edward Thomas was fined £3000 by the Parliament. Let the writer be pardoned for stating he is descended from Richard, his fifth son.² The father's memorial tablet is at Llanbleithian church. Soon after the pulpit announcement, the MSS. were all restored to the distressed archbishop. (*Vide* Iolo MSS.)

DUNRAVEN CASTLE, GLAMORGAN

King Bran's father was Llyr Llediaith. Llediaith is a name given to the act of speaking Welsh with a foreign accent. One of the royal seats of Siluria was Dunraven Castle, Glamorgan. We find that King Bran was old in A.D. 60, that is to say, one hundred and fifteen years after Julius Cæsar, in 55 B.C., received as hostages a number of the young nobility of Britain. We know that one of them was Prince Cynvelin, the Cunobelinus of ancient

¹ Llanweryd later.

² On his mother's side, the late Margaret, Ty'nywaun, Tonyrefail.

KING LUCIUS AND POPE ELEUTHERIUS 19

British coins, and that he was educated at Rome by the direction of Cæsar, and who is stated, mistakenly by Dio Cassius, to have been the father of Caractacus.

It appears that after Llyr's return years later from Rome to this castle, the whole hill upon which it stands was called, perhaps jocularly at first, Twyn Rhyvan, or the "Hill of Rome." All the Glamorgan people to the present day never call it by any other name than Twyn Rhyvan. Add to this fact the other, that Llyr was called one who spoke Welsh with a foreign accent, and, further, that Llyr Llediaith's grandson, Caractacus, spoke Latin so fluently and eloquently at Rome, before the imperial throne, in the camp of Mars, to Claudius Cæsar and the Empress Agrippina and all the Roman Court and other nobility, as to be pardoned for resisting in Britain the Roman army. These considerations lead us to conjecture the home of the Kings of Siluria, from King Llyr downwards, was a centre of Latin learning.

CHAPTER III

THE "DELUSION" OF MORIEN, A.D. 395-420

As the practice was among the ancient Britons, and indeed still is among the Bards, Morien seems to have been the sacred name and Morgan the secular one of him whom history calls also Pelagius.

He was born about the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era.

He was educated at Bangor, Eurgan the native name of the Princess Claudia, daughter of Caractacus, whose home was two miles to the west of that place which, after the year A.D. 420, bore successively the names Bangor King Tewdrig and Bangor Illtyd; and the town is at present known under the name Llantwit Major, to distinguish it from the Lesser Llantwit, near Llantrisant, Glam. Scholars, not knowing the meaning of the name "Bangor" and supposing it to be a place-name, instead, correctly, of meaning "university," have confounded this town with the university called Bangor Iscoed, co. Flint.

We have in the Welsh Triads the following one: "The Three Delusions: (1) That of Urb of the Great Army (Llu-Yddawg), who took away all who could bear arms and fight from Britain¹ through the countries about the Dead Sea (Palestine?). (2) The Delusion of Morien, through which Baptism and Sacrifice (the Mass) were abandoned in Britain; and the inhabitants became like Unbaptized Hebrews. (3) The Delusion of Gwythion, son of Don, in North Wales, who obtained through fraud the Crown and Dominion of Anglesey, Caernarvon, and the Commot, from the Emperor of Rome, as a reward for expelling the Welsh people from their possessions, which he bestowed on Irish and Picts. Another of the heresies of Morien

¹ Kimmeria, of the Kimmerians from Asia Minor, *vide* Professor Ragozins.

was maintaining that every man is gifted with Free Will, to choose Good or Evil, and by the exercise of virtue can attain Salvation without the direct action of the Holy Spirit upon his soul, otherwise Divine Grace." (Iolo MSS., pp. 42 and 421.)

Morien went to Rome, Carthage, and Jerusalem, and appeared before vast assemblies of learned bishops, from all parts of the Christian world, and astounded all by his erudition and eloquence. To this day the phrase "Morienic learning" is applied as meaning the acme of human mental ability. He stirred up by his new theology the whole Christian world, and during about twenty years after his first arrival at Rome, maintained his tenets against all opponents. But about A.D. 420 he disappeared, no one knows how nor where. Some one with more fanaticism than knowledge gave him, as seems probable, the *coup de grâce*. But his character for knowledge, courage, learning, and eloquence will for ever be a valuable example as to the character of the Welsh people that were his contemporaries, and the profound tuition then imparted at the great seat of learning in South Wales. The fact that Pelagius brought all in Wales at that time to his views, indicate the Welsh were able to think and judge for themselves and act accordingly, and not merely follow any theological bellwether.

In the olden time the Welsh literati were fond of giving descriptive names to the children of those in authority; and doubtless the same practice prevailed among the masses too. We repeat, Lles ap Coel means "Benefit, the Son of Faith or Belief" (Coel). But he has another name, doubtless added after his character had become pronounced, which is Lleuver Mawr, or the "Great Light." This some scribe has turned into Latin as Luxius, from which we have Lucius. Another name given to him is Lleurawg, or "One Full of Light." This is usually spelt "Lleurwg," but Lleurawg is the correct rendering. Each of Lucius's names is an indication of the continuity of the profession of the Christian faith in this illustrious family descended from Bran the Blessed—the Archon Bran—through Carac-tacus, Linus (Cyllin), Coel, down to himself.

The first to train the family of Bran in Christianity was St. Ild, "a man of Israel"—with a Welsh name—who, we think, was St. Paul;¹ and the next was Aristobulus, "a man of Italy," to whom King Bran gave the punning name Arwystl Hen, or the "Aged One Pawned." He himself had occupied that position on behalf of his illustrious son Caractacus, and the old king saw something in the Latin name Aristobulus resembling Arwystl, and sportively applied it as the Welsh for the Latin Aristobulus. That is the only feasible way to account for Aristobulus being named in Welsh "Arwystl Hen" (Aged).

There cannot be any question that it was at Bangor Eurgan Lucius himself was educated, and there became a Lleuver Mawr, or a "Great Light."

Many other brilliant beams of scholastic light must have radiated from the same illustrious Bangor of Princess Eurgan-Claudia, and made Wales a highly cultured country.

Three and a half centuries after it was first established it produced another "Lleuver Mawr," namely, Morien-Pelagius, whose influence still pervades Christian theology, from the scene of this ancient Alma Mater, on the Odnant in the Vale of Glamorgan, to the ends of the earth.

It is on record that Lles or Lucius built the earliest church at Llandaff (Triad 35) and that it was the earliest Christian church in Britain and Western Europe.

Now, here comes a record of singular interest. It is clear Christianity was having a very uphill work, in the face of the old dominant creed, viz. Druidism.

But Lucius—stationed in his dominions either as Regulus under the Roman Emperor, or that the Romans by his time had found Wales untenable and had withdrawn to England and that Bran's family had resumed the reins of government—placed the Christians on an equal footing with the priests of the Druids; for, it is stated, Lles—

"Bestowed the freedom of the country and nation,

¹ *Ei Lid*, "His Wrath" (Nero's?). Welsh monkish records state he was Joseph of Arimathea, and that he went from here to Glastonbury (Iolo MSS.).

with the privilege of judgment and oath, upon those who might be of the Faith in Christ."

The privileges each priest of the Druids enjoyed were :—

(1) Five acres of land ; (2) exemption from bearing arms ; (3) permission to pass unmolested from one district to another in time of war as well as peace ; (4) support and maintenance wherever they went ; (5) exemption from land-tax, and a contribution from every plough in the district where he was the authorised teacher. (James's *Patriarchal Religion of Britain*, p. 81.)

Now it stands out clearly that, *until then*, the Christians were *not* "authorised teachers" within the rule of Lucius.

It was he who elevated them for the first time to the status of citizens—at least in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire.

We thus perceive that during a hundred years after the first planting of Christianity in Wales, notwithstanding the powerful influence of the Christianised royal family of King Bran and General Caractacus, the Christians as such were debarred by the dominating influence of the earlier religion from the status of priest.

CHAPTER IV

ARTHUR, DUBRICIUS, AND ST. DAVID

THERE is nothing more disagreeable and thankless than exposing old delusions. We know that, soon after the occupation of Glamorgan by the Normans in A.D. 1088, forgers set to work to suppress the old ecclesiastical records of the native Church, and to substitute others of a fictitious nature. Had the charlatans given their fine productions to the world as novels based on facts, one would accept them for what they were worth, namely, illustrations of other days, gilded by the brilliant fancies of gifted literary talents. But when we find those writers imposing upon the reading world, by representing them as genuine historical facts, then we without hesitation label them as disgraceful forgeries.

Arthur is not a human being at all; the name signifies the "Gardener Sun." He never lived anywhere except in the fancy of the Druids, and in the fertile brain of Geffrey, son of Arthur, Llandaff.

In reference to Dubricius, of Llandaff, the following is copied from *Liber Landavensis*: "And Dubricius, feeling himself burdened with old age, took leave of the brethren, and resigned the office of Archbishop. In a certain island, situate in the Irish Sea, distant from the land about five miles, called in Welsh Ynys Enlli, and in English Bardsey, within which 20,000 bodies of saints are buried, he led a hermetical life, in watching, fasting, and prayer, to the day of his death; and after the course of his life, he was there buried and at first numbered among the saints. In the year of the incarnation of our Lord 612, he departed to the Lord. And in the year 1120 he was removed from

the island of Bardsey by Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, on 23rd of May" (p. 622).

It appears that the bones of Dubricius became very dusty during the long journey across Wales in a hot season, and we are told that on the carriers coming with them to Llandaff Cathedral, "Bishop Urban took a bone of the arm and, handling it with great joy, put it into the water, and when it was at the bottom of the water it moved itself there for the space of more than an hour, no one moving it but the power of God" (*Ibid.*, p. 331).

The purpose of stating that the bone of the arm spun about in the water in that fashion was twofold; to prove that it was the right-arm bone of Dubricius, and that the arm, which had been upheld as the vehicle for transmitting the Divine benediction upon congregations, still retained some of the vitality of the Holy Spirit, like the bones of Elisha (2 Kings xiii. 21).

To leave no doubt about it, it is said the water actually boiled and fizzed and bubbled, and emitted sound (p. 330).

It is further stated that Dubricius had crowned King Arthur at Cirencester in the fifteenth year of his age (p. 621).

It is known that Arthur, as a human being, was the creation of Geffrey ab Arthur, the intimate friend of the Normans and of Earl Robert Fitzroy, the son-in-law of Sir Robert Fitzhamon, and that Geffrey was living at Llandaff about this time, when Earl Robert was thirty-one.

He was made Bishop of Llandaff in A.D. 1153, the year he died, at Llandaff.

At the period the bones, whosoever they really were, were brought to Llandaff Cathedral in 1120, all Wales was ringing with indignation at the conduct of Henry I., in thrusting upon the Church in Wales in A.D. 1115 the Norman Bernard, that king's own chaplain, to be archbishop at St. David's.

Five years later the bones are said to have been brought from Bardsey to Llandaff.

Bernard to St. David's, and Dubricius's bones for Llandaff, were both efforts to impose Norman rule on the

Church in Wales, but mainly in the interest of the Papacy in Britain as a reward for its valuable support in political matters.

Earl Robert Fitzroy, Lord Paramount of Glamorgan, patron of Geoffrey the Scribe, as the natural son of Henry I., it was to his interest as the heir-presumptive (notwithstanding the bar sinister) to the Crown, to please his royal father, and to further his projects.

We suspect he employed Geoffrey and Walter Mapes, Llancarvan, afterwards Archdeacon of Oxford, to impose upon the Welsh ecclesiastics.

But on the death of Henry I., in the year 1135, Prince Stephen usurped the Crown, which Earl Robert had hoped to be invested with.

Empress Matilda, Earl Robert's half-sister, claimed it, supported by a powerful party, and went to war, appointing Earl Robert her commander-in-chief.

Thus what Geoffrey had laboured for (to 1138) in conjunction with his neighbour, Walter Mapes of Tre Walter, Llancarvan, became void, except for romantic creations of intellect, which can never die out from the literature of Europe.

It is a proud possession for the small city of Llandaff to have been the residence of such a genius ; the place where the powerful literary creations which so much influenced all literary Europe from then till now were produced.

The name Dubricius is the Latin rendering of Duw Vrig, or "God's Topmost Branch," meaning the sun.¹

Isaiah says : "In that day shall the Branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the earth excellent and comely" (ch. iv. 2).

How came the prophet to employ that poetical figure at all, unless understood to be somehow associated with the earth at that time ?

¹ The Ancients loved to describe the Dome of the Heavens as a great tree, with its branches bending all around, and drooping to the circle of the horizon. It appears that the line of the Equator was fancifully raised up, its eastern point pointing upwards, with a Branch shooting up from it. This is the topmost Branch of ancient creeds. In Revelation xxii. 2, the pole is called "street."

It is apparent that bringing the bones in 1120, after lying in Bardsey over six centuries among 20,000 others like them, had some great incentive to that effect. We have given what we believe that was.

Another glaring imposition is St. David.

The forgers took good care not to dub him Davyth, the Welsh for David. They invented a new form for it as a substitute, viz. Dewin, which, for the purpose of their trickery, they abbreviated to "Dewi": a meaningless form. Dewin is the ancient Welsh for prophet, and signifies, "One of God."

But the sun is very frequently referred to by the most ancient bards under the title of Dovyth (Dovydd). (Acts xv. 16, Amos ix. 11.)

Catwg, or Cadox, the celebrated Principal of Llancarvan, who flourished towards the close of the sixth century, has about Dovyth as follows: "Nid casach gan Dovydd yr ynvyd a'r cymmen," or, "Dovyth dislikes not the fool nor the eloquent." "Nid tlotach Dovydd er rhoddi bob amser," or "Dovyth is none the poorer, although always giving":—

"Ni vydd hawdd esgus ar vynydd Goleuwer,
Pan welir Cydwybod yn ei holl noethder
Yn ngwydd Duw Dovydd, a lluoedd cyviawnder;
A Christ yn barnu yn ngolau Cyviawnder."

—*Myv. Arch. of Wales*, vol. iii. p. 6.

Translation.

"Excuses will be of no value on the mountain of light,
When conscience will appear in stark nakedness,
In the presence of God Dovyth, and the hosts of on high;
And Christ there judging in the light of Justice."

There are innumerable other allusions by the ancient bards to Dovyth.

The meaning of the name is, "One who Tames" (Domitor).

The fabulists avoided this form, which is the original one of "David" in all languages.

The bards speak of "Y Dewin-Dovyth," or "the Prophet-Dovyth," for it was everywhere believed the

Sun was a living being, and that he saw, heard, inhaled, and, strange to say, that he slept o' nights in a sacred Argo or Ark on the Western Ocean, and that the Ark floated to the eastern horizon to the Wheel,¹ on which he again ascended to his duties across the field of the firmament on the morrow.

St. David is said to have descended from a sister of the Virgin Mary!

In Geoffrey's romances, he is first introduced as combating successfully the Pelagian heresy in Cardiganshire, at Llanddewi'n Brevu, or "The High Place of Dewi's Vociferations."

To this day at St. David's Head we hear of Pen Dewi, or Dewi's Head—the Orb of the Sun, and his rays, his hair, and he is identical with Taliesun's head, the Bards' head.

Often this is translated "*Chief* (Pen) of the Bards." The name of what is now called St. David's Head, till Geoffrey's impositions, was Menevia, but in Welsh Menw Hen, the "Ancient of Days" (Daniel vii. 13).

¹ Ixion's Wheel. It was universally believed the earth was immovably fixed, but the stars travelling from east to west, suggested the idea that the sky was a vast wheel turning around the earth. Then came the idea that there was a chair suspended in it, and that in that chair the Sun sat during the day singing; but when the chair came to the western sea in the descent of the Wheel, he stepped out, and alighting in the Boat Shrine of the Queen Ceridwen, he slept in it; that during the night the sacred Shrine-Boat, animated and propelled by the Spirit Queen, went to the eastern part of the horizon, where the Sun was to re-enter the chair on the morrow.

Wales in pre-Roman times was divided into three provinces. Those were Syllwig, Dyfed, and Ar-Dyvi. Those the Romans Latinised as Siluria, Demetia, and Ordovia, and the latter also to Venedotia, which indicates that, in ancient times, North Wales was sacred to Gwyn ap Nyth ("Gwynneth"), that is to say, the Sun as the Holy Son of Nyth or the Spinner, one of the titles of Ceridwen, Queen of Heaven (Ezekiel xlv.).

In a similar way, the whole of Britain was divided into three provinces: Those are Lloegr, Alban, Kimmeria. Those are England, Scotland, and Wales. Those are the Three Sisters of Arthur in the Round Table, another name for Britain surrounded by the sea, like the shield of Achilles described by Homer. We thus discover that Achilles and Arthur—St. George—are the same Sun personification.

"He poured the Ocean round" (*Iliad*, chapter xviii).

OTHER TRIADS

The first Triad is the ecclesiastical divisions of Britain in the olden times.

Canterbury (Caer Cynt); York (Caer Evrawg); St. David's. The last named is given in Welsh as Mynyw.

It is a corrupt form of Menw Hen, or Ancient Minos, and the Hindoo Menu; the same as the Menu of Eypgt, and each is the Personified Mind; the Ancient of Days of Daniel vii. 9. "I beheld, till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of His head like pure wool."

There cannot be any question that one of the reasons for transferring the earlier archbishopric of Britain to Menw Hen, or Ancient Minos, near Lampeter, was the continuous traditions as to the continued sanctity of the locality dating from early days.

Finally it was transferred to St. David's Head.

The three principal rivers of Britain: the Thames; Severn (Havren); Humber (Hymyr).

The three principal islands of the smaller isles of Britain: Isle of Man (Monwy); Isle of Wight (Weith); Orcney (Orc).

The three principal seaports in Britain: Portsquet, in co. Mon. (Porth Ysgewin); Port of Storms (Gwygyr, Holyhead); Borth, Cardigan Bay (Porth Gwyddno).

There are in Britain 143 principal abers, or confluences; 54 seaports; and 28 caers, or walled cities. (*Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 2.)

In A.D. 314 there were three archbishops of the ancient Britons, all Welsh-speaking prelates, at the Council of Arles, Brittany. One was from Caerleon-on-Usk, or Llandaff; another from London, and another from York.

That is a proof that, by that time, all Britain was a complete organised Christian system in all the Britannic Isles, and that system must have existed for ages and had originated in Wales, the country of Lucius, son of Coel.

So well supported were they at home that in A.D. 314 they respectfully declined the Roman emperor's proffered subsidy to defray their travelling expenses; and of the large numbers present, they alone so declined.

These facts are fully verified by the official records of the Council, drawn up by the direction of the emperor.

Nothing better than this could be adduced to prove the flourishing condition of the ancient British Church at that early time.

What appears likely is that Christianity had gradually entered upon the already existing organisation of the Druids, or that both creeds acted together in harmony, as the motto manifests, viz. "Da yw y Maen Gyda'r Efengyl" ("It is well to have the Monolith with the Gospel").

Favouring the view that during the Roman supremacy in England, Siluria, or South Wales, had continued to have its own native king and government, before and after King Lucius, we find that the King of Siluria at the time of the destruction of the South Wales University was King Tewdrig, who in Latin was named King Theodore. This name has misled many to suppose he was the Roman Emperor Theodosius, Emperor of the Roman East. Whitaker, in his learned and invaluable *History of Manchester*, on the authority of Nennius, who wrote about A.D. 858, states that the Romans did not finally leave England until A.D. 446. In the Welsh annals, omitting certain fables penned by monks, the liars and polluters of true and pure history, we have trustworthy records. It is suspected that Latin monks, desiring to associate with Rome credit for culture in Wales, assisted at the fraud of substituting Theodosius for Tewdrig, and the restoration of Bangor Eurgan by King Tewdrig came to be attributed to the Emperor Theodosius II.

What lent an air of plausibility to the misleading statement was that both the Welsh king and the emperor named were contemporaries, the Emperor Theodosius II. having been born in A.D. 401. This emperor is known as the compiler of the *Codex Theodosianus*. But what

made his name one of terror was his efforts to tear up by the roots the remaining paganism lingering in some parts of the Roman Empire, both in Europe and in Asia. And he was intensely monastic in his religious views. But he was the Emperor of the East only, and therefore exercised no manner of authority in any part of Britain. But the monks persisted in their statements that the Emperor Theodosius was the second founder of Llantwit Major, suppressing its former name, namely, Bangor Eurgan, thus depriving the Welsh King Theodore of that credit which was his due.

As illustrating the fierceness with which Pelagius and his disciples were assailed, the following, from the pen of the Venerable Bede, who died A.D. 735, serves us:—

“In A.D. 395, Pelagius, a Briton, spread far and near the infection of his perfidious doctrine against the canon that assistance of Divine grace is necessary to salvation, being assisted therein by his associate, Julianus of Campania, whose anger was kindled by the loss of his bishopric, of which he had been deprived.

“St. Augustine [of Hippo, Africa] and the other orthodox Fathers quoted many thousand Catholic authorities against them, yet they would not correct their madness; but, on the contrary, their folly was rather increased by contradiction, and they refused to embrace the truth; which Prosper, the rhetorician, has [continues Bede] *beautifully* expressed thus in heroic verse:—

“‘A scribbler vile, inflamed by hellish spite,
Against the great Augustine dared to write;
Presumptuous serpent, from what midnight den¹
Durst thou to crawl on earth and look at men?
Sure thou wast fed on Britain’s sea-girt plains,
Or in thy breast Vesuvian sulphur reigns.’”

—Bede’s *Ecc. History*, c. x.

¹ The “midnight den” of angry Prosper was Bangor Eurgan, Llantwit Major.

CHAPTER V

SAINTS GERMANUS AND LUPUS, A.D. 427 AND 447

WE find that half a century after the time Morien-Pelagius first burst upon the theological world, to its intense astonishment, all Wales, except some of the higher classes, including King Tewdrig himself, continued to be adherents to the theological teachings of that great heretic, as his opponents designated him.

In A.D. 429 and 447 Saints Germanus and Lupus, two continental bishops, were sent to Glamorgan to deal with the heretics.

It is amusing to discover that the Welsh designated Lupus by the name Bleithyn, or "Young Wolf" or a "Wolf's Pup." Lupus is Latin for a wolf, and the Britons, evidently playing upon the word, called him a "Young Wolf," and the elder, St. Germanus, was the "Old Wolf" (Blaid). This comes out in the fact that they did nickname him also, and called him Garmon, which is literally the "Friend of the Sacred Cow."¹ It will be borne in mind that their visit was to a district associated with the Bovum, or "Sacred Cow," after which and the bridge spanning the river sacred to her, the town is called Cowbridge. The river is the Da-Wen, and whose sacred mound is still seen west of Ystrad Dawen (Ystrad "Owen") Church, a few miles north of Cowbridge. The parish church of Cowbridge is dedicated to the said St. Bleithyn, or "Young Wolf." It appears that the ecclesiastics were not sufficient Welsh scholars to perceive the subtle irony in the Welsh

¹ In the *Liber Landavensis* a portrait of one of the earliest saints of Glamorgan is shown with the figure of a cow lying in the rear of his head.—Subscribers' special edition.

name the natives gave to St. Lupus, and adopted it as a very respectable Welsh name for the saint.

Now, it is a most remarkable coincidence that, in A.D. 420, the "orthodox clergy" of somewhere—it is not stated of where—had sent to France (Gaul)—presumably from Wales—for assistance to resist the Pelagian heresy in Wales. Accordingly a Synod was then called together to consider the request, and it resulted in two foreign bishops being sent over, according to Prosper, a contemporary writer, in A.D. 429 (first visit).

As if providentially designed to prove that the Welsh account was not copied from Prosper's record, we find, in p. 423 of the Iolo MSS. collection, the following: "In A.D. 425, St. Germanus, and with him St. Lupus, came from France to Britain (Wales) to renew Baptism and Sacrifice (Mass), and a correct belief (knowledge?) of Christianity, where it had grown faint" (p. 43: "ar edwin" in the Welsh original). The use of the archaic word "edwin" proves the great antiquity of the records.

The Welsh account as to the date of the transaction is nearer the time of the Synod convened than the date given by Prosper, therefore more likely to be the correct one.

St. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, was of Welsh extraction, being uncle to Prince Emyr of Brittany, whose family had immigrated to Brittany from Cornwall, to an estate there presented to the family by King Clemens Maximus (Macsen Wledig of Abergavenny, who, in A.D. 383, was in command of the Roman army in Britain).

Under him it revolted, assisted by all the Britons, and the Emperor Gratian was put to death by him in France. Maximus then became sovereign of Britain, France, and Spain.

But, two years later, he was himself defeated by the Emperor Theodosius I., and put to death.

He had been assisted in his revolt by Cynan Meiriadog, nephew of Octavius (Eudav), a powerful Welsh chief of counties Monmouth and Hereford, whose daughter, Ellen, Maximus had married.

The two named took to France in their train an immense number of young British warriors, thus denuding Britain of means of self-defence ; for, according to Welsh annals, they never returned home, and we have here an instance of that in the account of Emyr of Brittany (Emyr Llydaw) being of Brittany, and also of St. Garmon being his uncle.

It appears as if Garmon was one of the immigrants, and possibly Emyr also, who went from Britain to the Continent with Maximus and Cynan.

We thus see why St. Garmon was selected by the Synod to come to Wales to "Straighten the Faith," as the Welsh records quaintly put it. From the foregoing it is not unnatural to infer that Garmon was able to preach in the Welsh language.

Lupus was the Bishop of Tryes. He occupied a secondary station, as it appears, in this mission.

In the Welsh annals, we find that St. Germanus had with him many more, all bearing Breton-Welsh names, viz. Henwyn, son of Gwrday ; Padamson, son of Pedredin ; the latter a son of Emyr Llydaw ; Cadvan. The last two were Illtyd's cousins. Cynan, Degwy, Mael, Sulien, Ethrias, Llwyn, Lluvab, Docheu, Tydacho, who was Cadvan's cousins. (Iolo MSS., p. 495, &c.)

In p. 538 is another list of more names of "Saints," all of whom came specially from the Continent to "Straighten the Faith" in Wales, especially in Siluria. The expression, if it originated among the natives, has an amusing ring about it. It was a striking scene when they landed from their ship in the Port of Aberthawen below Cowbridge, and being received there by the King of Glamorgan and his court. It was a most critical moment in the history of the accepted form of Christianity in the Universal Church. It is clear by the circumstance of all these foreign ecclesiastics coming here, that all in Wales, excepting a few clergymen, and the king and courtiers, had gone clean over to the school of Morien-Pelagius.

At this period not a single college or hall stood above ground at Llantwit Major.

It was Tewdwr's patronage that brought the visitors to Glamorgan, and afterwards kept them there.

One Crallo was of the number and after whom Coychurch is named. He did something very diverting, or was amusingly eccentric, for to this day a man doing some foolish and diverting thing is called "a Crallo."

We recognise the foreigners in the names Llan Docheu, Baglan, Canna of Llanganna. Canna was a lady, the mother of the said St. Crallo, and she was entombed at Coychurch. (Iolo MSS., p. 132.)

Her first husband was Sadwrn, and by him (Sadwrn) she had Elian¹ and Crallo. He was married a second time to Lady Gallu Reieddog. She was the daughter of Tewdwr (Tudor), son of Emyr of Brittany, who was a cousin to the said Sadwrn and Illtyd.

We thus see that Illtyd was uncle to Tewdwr, the father of St. Canna. We thus see also that Crallo was related to Illtyd in two ways, viz. through his brother, Sadwrn, and the son of Tewdwr, Illtyd's nephew once removed. It thus appears it was largely as much a family affair as to "Straighten the Faith" which Morien had "twisted" that they all came into Glamorgan.

A very significant thing is observable, viz. that until those foreign missionaries came, the natives never presumed to associate a personal name with a church; such a thing savoured of blasphemy in their eyes. But the names of the Apostles St. Paul and St. Peter and the Blessed Virgin Mary were so associated. The other personal names were doubtless introduced after the visits of Garmon and Lupus. The author of *The British Saints* points out that the only instance in Wales of such a dedication before that time is that of Llan Beblig, co. Caernarvon (p. 115). We believe Llan Ilid, Glamorgan, was another, because it was the punning Welsh name given by Bran to St. Paul.

From A.D. 429 to A.D. 447 it appears clear that King Tewdrig (Theodore) and the Breton immigrants busied themselves, the king in restoring the University of Llantwit

¹ Eglwys Ilan (Elian) appears to be named after him. In *Liber Landavensis* he is seventh Bishop of Llandaff.

Major, consisting of seven halls, and the foreign "Saints" supported by the king's civil power in reorganising the South Wales churches on the bases of anti-Pelagian doctrines. The king, as a lineal descendant of Bran the Blessed, and his immortal son, General Caractacus, was regarded as almost sacred. The descendants also of Pope Linus (Cyllin) through King Coel; and others from Princess Eurgan-Claudia Pudens; and others through Lleurwg (Lucius) must have been well known among them, so that King Tewdrig and all of his branches of relatives must have been looked upon as almost holy by all the people.

Doubtless it was argued that the orthodox views *before* the advent of Morien-Pelagius's disturbing tenets were those of the royal family of Siluria since the days of St. Ild, ending, we think, in A.D. 68, when he departed, and reaching Rome, while Jews and Christians were being martyred—all were regarded as "Jews"—and was in June of that year beheaded himself by the side of the highway leading to the seaport of Ostia, where, doubtless, a short time before, he had landed after his voyage back from St. Donats Castle and the port of Llantwit Major. Eight years had elapsed since he penned the farewell contained in 2 Timothy iv. 1-8. The Cathedral of Britain is dedicated to Saint Paul.

By A.D. 447 the restoration and the triumph of the anti-Pelagians were complete. We now come to St. Illtyd.

CHAPTER VI

ST. ILLTYD OR ST. ILTUTUS

IN that collection of ancient written documents, called the Iolo MSS. (p. 557), it is asserted that Bangor Eurgan, Glamorgan, was the earliest university in the world to teach Christianity as a science. This is consistent with the given date as to its foundation, and the association of St. Ilid and the royal family of Siluria with it, and the fact that it bore down to its destruction, A.D. 420, the name of Princess Eurgan-Claudia. Claudia has, ever since the time that charming lady flourished, been a most popular personal name in Wales, but it has assumed the forms "Gladys" and "Gwladus."

One of King Tewdrig's daughters was named Princess Gweryla. She had married Lord Bicanus, a Breton nobleman. It is probable Bicanus accompanied Germanus and Lupus to South Wales.

John of Teignmouth states that Bicanus's wife bore the name of Rieniguildia. Any Welsh scholar sees that this is a corrupt form of Rhian-Wylaidd, or "Modest Maiden," but the Latin scribe translates it, "Modest Queen" (*Regina pudica*). (*British Saints*, pp. 138 and 466.)

We see every reason to believe that the compiler of those religious novels purporting to give the biographies of British saints, was Geffrey of Llandaff, who died at Mass bishop-designate of Llandaff in A.D. 1153. He, by some extraordinary mistake, is called "of Monmouth." The above error as to the meaning of the name Rhian-Wylaidd proves he knew Welsh but superficially, as was the case with most ecclesiastics in the Norman interest. Bicanus and Gweryla were the parents of Illtyd. We learn that they resided at a place called Letavia, in Brittany.

Illtyd was in Wales an assumed name, for it signifies Alltud, the then Welsh for one from the other side of the sea from Britain : a foreigner. The same monk who fell into the foregoing error, translates Illtyd as a name meaning, "One Safe from every Crime." (*Ibid.*, p. 466.)

Illtyd's own armorial bearings are as follows : Argent, three masts, three castles ; or, six darts. (Iolo MSS., p. 556.)

We see by the foregoing that King Tewdrig was his maternal grandfather, and the heir-apparent was Prince Meirig, Illtyd's mother's cousin.

We thus see what a powerful inducement Illtyd had for leaving home for South Wales.

It appears highly probable that he had before occasionally visited his grandfather's court, long before he took the tonsure, for he is often called Illtyd the Knight. One fears that his resolve to assume the ecclesiastical habit commenced with the restoration of the abbey and the university by his grandfather.

There was one serious hindrance in his way, viz. he was already a married man : he had a Mrs. Illtyd, and the Latin Mother-Church brooked no rival. But he discarded his wife and married a holier spouse, as the priests of the Goddess Kybele were wont to do but by mutilation, and were ever after red-robed men, with cracked voices.

Illtyd's wife, states the monk, went to dwell apart at the foot of a high mountain—there is no mountain near Llan Illtyd ; and it is said as a sly hint she was not anywhere near the Abbey. But one day Mrs. Illtyd gave way to a longing to go and have at least a distant peep at her beloved. She beheld him working in a garden, besmeared with the soil. But the next moment she was struck blind for her temerity !

That is an example of the intolerable rubbish which the monks dealt forth, instead of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. But we are glad to find it stated that, through the prayers of St. Illtyd, the affectionate lady's eyesight was restored to her, and no doubt she returned to her mountain home promising to behave better in future.

On a scroll around the bell on the summit of the Llan-

twit Town Hall—the author climbed up a ladder to see it—is the Latin legend, “Ora pro nobis, Iltuti,” or “Pray for us, Illtyd.” It has sent its music over the landscape for about fourteen centuries. It has sounded the knell of Welsh, Saxons, Normans, &c.

There was a belief in the days of the monks, the devil was ever in such dread of that bell that he would not come within sound of its musical chimes.

The following Triad (84) we translate from the Welsh: “The three principal Choirs of Britain: Illtyd’s (Caer Eurgan), Emyr’s Caer Caradog (Old Sarum), and that of Glastonbury. In each were 2400 Saints (Students?), and they numbering one hundred in each corps, served God each of the twenty-four hours, day and night.”

In St. Germanus’s second visit in A.D. 447, he appears to have come to consecrate the new abbey and the restored university. He was now accompanied also by Severus, Bishop of Triers. St. Garmon must have been surprised on discovering that the restored university had already discarded the name of Bangor Eurgan, with which name were associated the most charming incidents, if not reminiscences, of the great Apostle himself.

It bore now the name Bangor “Tewdrig,” and only a cell in it bearing the honoured name of Eurgan-Claudia.

It is surprising the king tolerated the change; but he was now growing aged, and it seems was dominated by the foreign priests. They did not care for the name and memories of Claudia, the intimate friend of St. Paul: the daughter of a heroic father, who, at great personal risk, accompanied by Linus her brother and Pudens her future husband, had visited St. Paul in prison, when the memory of Nero’s terrible face had reminded him of “a lion’s mouth” (2 Tim. iv. 17).

Afterwards Illtyd, perhaps, as it seems probable, after his grandfather’s decease on the Wye, dropped the king’s name, and named it Bangor Illtyd.

King Meirig succeeded his uncle on the throne of Siluria, or South Wales, and we know that a most violent quarrel broke out between the king and Illtyd, and Illtyd had to go

into hiding, once into a cave at Pont Allam, near Ewenwy, Bridgend. It seems that we have in the change of name, substituting Illtyd for Tewdrig, the primary cause of the fierce feud between them, and the king proceeded to build another university, which he, in accordance with old usage, except in the instances mentioned already, omitted from its name the names of mortals, and called it Llancarvan and also Llan Veithryn, or the "High Place of Friends," and the "High Place (or Nursery) of Learning."

Catwg the Wise, of Zion Hill, Newport, Mon, was appointed its principal, and his selection was eminently justified by the result, and also indicates King Meirig's great good sense.

This also gives us an insight into the reason of the Welsh proverb: "Enw mawr yw Meirig"—*anglice*, "Great is Meirig's Name." In after ages every effort was made to dedicate this place to St. Germanus, but the natives would not tolerate it, and no church in South Wales is associated with him who was the chief of the Foreign Mission.

King Meirig had inherited a position of great perplexity. His late uncle, through religious zeal against Pelagianism, had admitted into Siluria continental foreigners who were practically emissaries of the papal See.

England itself was like a helpless wreck, floating on the waves, and was swarming with plunderers. We will see that in the days of King Taithfallt the mischief had already begun.

The Roman Empire here, as well as elsewhere, had cunningly drafted the native fighting men to other countries, and had brought here those of other countries. Clemens Maximus had further denuded Britain of its remaining native soldiery, as stated elsewhere. It was as much as King Meirig could do to defend the coast of South Wales and the river Wye, on the east, from all sorts of continental marauders, eager for plunder, whose practice of kidnapping infants from the arms of British mothers demonstrate the brutality of their degraded humanity.

Thus King Meirig, instead of causing civil war by expelling the ecclesiastical foreigners, whose headquarters were

Llantwit Major, proceeded to establish a purely Welsh university on a smaller scale than the one already richly endowed by King Tewdrig.

Thus Llancarvan and Llanveithryn, two colleges near each other, south-east of Cowbridge, and in a gentle dale, gradually raised their spires from the green vale. The name Llan-Câr-Van, or the "Bangor of Brotherly Love," established where the growls of plunderers fell on the ears, is touching to every reflective mind.

It is with the attempts made from time to time to associate the name of St. Germanus with Llancarvan we find, appearing in Welsh history, nebulous characters, such as Dubricius, Arthur, David, Teilaw, &c., springing up like the Ghost of Hamlet's father.

It is worthy of notice that even King Meirig could not dislodge from Llantwit Major the tonsured crew from Brittany, which his late uncle had, in a weak moment, admitted into Glamorgan. The king's difficulty was due chiefly to the internal divisions among the laity; some being Pelagianists, others adherents to the older system of theology which Pelagius had upset in Wales, and eventually, as appears, through Britain among the natives, apart from the foreign elements there. It is possible, further, that King Meirig was loth to publicly change the order of ecclesiastical affairs in South Wales, which his revered late uncle had established.

In his old age King Tewdrig established his home near the river Wye. The spot is still well known under the name of "Tintern," which is a mutilated form of Ty'n Teyrn or "House of our King." His nephew was called Ail Teyrn (Viceroy, or Second King), and his Chapel-of-Ease is still known as Llan Ail Teyrn, but rendered "Lanilterne," &c., near Cardiff. The position of the Deputy-King Meirig was still precarious; his people were divided into factions, viz. Pelagians and the orthodox, followers of Illtyd, others supporting Meirig. But it appears that all alike revered the aged king on the western bank of the river Wye. The Saxons were pressing towards Wales by way of Gloucester. Not a moment was to be lost. There

was no time for preaching conciliation to the conflicting factions.

Some one in the council of war, in order to unite all parties, proposed to the deputy-king to invite his aged uncle to take the command-in-chief, with a view to conciliate all parties. The old king consented; but the old monarch, descended from the Archon Bran, was still so "churchy" that he laid upon his subjects the following condition of his leaving his retirement to lead the army across the Wye against the Saxons—namely, that, should he fall, they would erect a church on the very spot from which his soul had departed thence. The promise was made and fulfilled. He fell, it seems, while leading a charge, near Gloucester, severely wounded. He was placed in a boat, and brought down the Severn. It seems that on reaching the mouth of the Wye, on the western side of it, he desired to be taken ashore. There he died; and the present church, dedicated to St. Tewdrig, and called Mathern (Merthyr Teyrn, "Martyred King"), was erected where he breathed his last. The Lord Bishop of Llandaff, Thomas Godwin, had the vault under the Altar opened, and the remains of the king, as is supposed, were found in it (*circa* A.D. 1615). His lordship caused a monument to be erected over the spot, where it is still.

CHAPTER VII

A GLANCE AT CONFLICTING CHURCHES

A STRONG element in the pre-Augustine Silurian Church was Druidism, for we find its motto at Caerleon-on-Usk was "Da'r Maen gyda'r Evengyl," or "The Sacred Monolith is good with the Gospel." It speaks volumes touching the springs of action.

About A.D. 600, St. Augustine came to Caerleon-on-Usk with a view to elicit the support of the Church of Britain, all having retired into Wales—

"To Wales had fled the Christianity of Old Britons"—

(CHAUCER, A.D. 1400)

to evangelise the Saxons in England. But he stipulated they should do so as an auxiliary of the papal See under himself.

He was met by seven Bishops of Wales under Bishop Dynawd-Dinood, Abbas of Bangor Iscoed, co. Flint.

The result of the conference was, they refused to acknowledge the arrogant pretensions of the Holy See, and nothing came of it, but there remained the *status quo ante*. History reveals that the Bishops of Wales conducted themselves, as the Latin proverb has it, "Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re."

In Cressy's *Church History*, published in A.D. 1668, we have the following, under date A.D. 692, being a copy of a circular sent by a Council of the St. Augustine Saxon Church in England to the King of the Britons, named Geruntius, residing in Cornwall. It is signed on behalf of the Synod by St. Aldelm, and is headed, "Reproving the Errors of the Britons":—

"The priests of Demeatæ"—St. David's later—"inhabiting beyond the Bay of Severn, puffed up with conceit

touching their own purity, do exceedingly abhor communion with us.

“They will neither join in prayer with us in the church, nor enter into Society with us at the Table; yea, moreover, the fragments which we leave after lunch (refection) they will not touch, but cast them to be devoured by dogs and unclean Swine.

“The cups also, from which we have drunk, they will not make use of till they have cleaned and rubbed with sand and ashes.

“They refuse all Civil salutations, or to give the Kiss of pious Fraternity; contrary to the Apostolic precept—viz. Salute one another with a holy kiss.

“They will not afford us water and towel for our hands, nor a vessel to wash our feet.

“Moreover, if any of us who are Catholics (Roman) do go among them to make an abode, they will not vouch it safe to admit us to their Fellowship till we be compelled to spend Forty Days in Penance”—Here is a hint that the Welsh held that the Saxons belonged, till the penance, to Satan—“Whereon our Lord did not disdain to be present at feasts with Publicans and Sinners, thereby showing Himself to be a Good Physician.”

—*Under the Saxon Heptarchy*, Book xix. p. 183.

In the foregoing we have a view of the relation of the British and Roman Churches towards each other ninety-two years later than the visit of St. Augustine to Caerleon-on-Usk.

Matters between the Church of England, an outpost of the Papal See, with its chief seat at Canterbury, and the ancient Church of Britain, with its chief seat at St. David's Head, continued down to the Norman Conquest of England at Hastings in A.D. 1066.

There is every reason to suppose the Normans were very largely imbued with the blood of the vast army of pure-blooded Britons, who went over to Brittany and France with Clemens Maximus in A.D. 383, and who never returned home again. The Normans spoke a dialect of French, and

not the pure French of the Franks themselves. That indicates the Norman-French was a language acquired by them, and not their indigenous tongue. Moreover, the Norman legends about King Arthur and the Round Table, and numerous other romances, were identical with those of the "Olde Britons."

The natives of Wales appear to have been cognisant of that, and hurried from all points to join the Conqueror at Hastings, &c. The Norman troubadours of Provence were modelled after the style of the wandering minstrel bards of Wales. Thierry, in his *Norman Conquest*, states that just before the action at Hastings began, a horseman, named Taillefer, rode forward to a spot between the Norman and Saxon armies, and sang a song. As he sang, he threw up his sword above him and caught it again; the Norman army joined in the chorus, which was, "God be our help! God be our help!" He performed the same part as a Briton usually did on similar occasions, singing in front of the army, "Unbenaeth Brydain," or the "Sovereignty of Britannia" (Thierry, p. 68). But when the Normans, under Sir Robert Fitzhamon, were admitted into Glamorgan, they immediately proceeded to lay unholy hands upon the University of Llan Illtyd Fawr (Bangor Eurgan, Tewdrig, and Illtyd), and, robbing it, transferred everything of mercantile value to the Norman Abbey of Tewkesbury, leaving only the abbot's fee—a kind of pocket-money—to pay the expenses of a local school for the natives! The same thing was done with Llanancarvan and Llanveithryn.

It appears that King Tewdrig had allocated a whole parish called Llan Alltyd Ver-Drev (Llantwit Verdre) as a freehold to his university. The residence of the Maerwr (bailiff) is known still under the name Ty'r Arlywydd, which is on the high ground facing south in that parish. It is under Llantrisant, together with Ystrad Dyvodwg.

At the Reformation the Abbey of Tewkesbury was suppressed, and its endowments, including those in Glamorgan, were given to found a bishop's See at Gloucester, where those riches still go from Glamorgan. The last Abbot of

Tewkesbury (Wakeman) was the first Bishop of Gloucester, A.D. 1541.

It is on record that Fitzhamon gave the lands of Lord Gweirydd ap Seisyllt at Llancarvan to Walter de Mapes, chaplain to Henry I. Walter was the son of Blondel de Mapes, who accompanied Fitzhamon into Glamorgan.

But the great tithes of Llancarvan were given to the said abbey, and go now to the dean and chapter of Gloucester Cathedral.

It appears that the conscience of the Holy See was uneasy touching those ecclesiastical robberies in Glamorgan. They formed, too, a dangerous precedent, and Pope Brekspere came in person to Llantwit Major to give the Holy Father's sanction to the robberies in the Sanctuaries of Wales with an eye to the future; that no one might presume to do likewise without Papal ratification and blessing.

Such appears to have been the sole purpose of the visit of his Holiness to Llantwit Major and St. Donats Castle. We now see the Church of Rome in England supreme in Glamorgan, and those clergymen whose unbrotherly love was complained of by St. Aldelm ruling in Wales by the support of Norman swords, bows and arrows, and spears. The foreign fraternity proceeded to make up for the past by covering the tracks of the saintly footsteps of Catwg Ddoeth, Prince Aneurin, and a mighty multitude of other Welsh saints.

They began by stating that it was not Catwg the Wise but Dubricius, of whom nobody had ever heard before, who was the first Abbot or Father of Llancarvan. They then, most opportunely, pretended to have discovered the relics or bones of St. Dubricius in Bardsey Island on May 23, 1120, or in an island called Ynys Enlli (Bardsey), North Wales, thirty-two years after the coming of the Normans into Glamorgan.

With a view to weaken the title King Meirig gave to Llancarvan, the foreign monks alleged that in A.D. 560 the clergy of the diocese of Llandaff had excommunicated King Meirig. But they could not get over the fact that

Llancarvan was dedicated to St. Catwg and not to St. Dubricius.

The cloven foot becomes visible in the omission of the names from the list of Archbishops of Wales preceding the names of the dummies Dubricius, Teilo, and St. David.

Their names are introduced as in the years 522, 544, and 563 respectively.

But in the records of the Council of Arles, in A.D. 314, Britain is there represented by the Archbishops of London, York, and Caerleon, the latter representing Wales.

But in this precious concoction of the Latin scribes, even so prominent a dignitary as Edelfed, the Adelfius of the report of the Council of Arles, is omitted. Why? We answer, for the same reason that the list is omitted of fifteen Archbishops of Wales, prior to the Norman usurpation of the Archbishopric of Wales by Henry I., in A.D. 1115, when he, after thrusting Bishop Bernard into the Chair of the Archbishop of Wales, caused that ancient Chair of St. David's to be carried away to Canterbury, where it still remains, a witness that when party zeal is strong, even the anointed can act dishonestly! In *Liber Landavensis* (p. 622), we read that, five years after the Norman, Bernard, came to be a Welsh bishop, most opportunely, the body of St. Dubricius was unearthed in Bardsey Island, beyond the coast of Caernarvon. The date of his death is given as in 522; that of King Arthur in 542; and a short time before discovering the remains of Dubricius Henry II. had had the singular good luck to find the remains of King Arthur at Glastonbury!

The Welshman, Giraldus Cambrensis, was, as we now say, taken in, and he has left on record that he saw, sunk into the lid of Arthur's coffin, a leaden cross and these words: "Hic jacet sepultus inclitus Rex Arturius in Insulæ Avalonia."

It is time that a native of Glamorgan should pronounce his own and his fellow-countrymen's disgust at those frauds, made, sad to say, in the sacred name of religion! The Church of Wales had not ceased to exist in A.D. 1120. It did not lack ecclesiastics to fill the Sees of Llandaff and

St. David's. Why then disinter the "relics" of Dubricius in the far-off Isle of Bardsey? The answer is obvious. It was for the purpose of destroying the historical continuity of the Church of Wales as separately existing from the Latin Church. As a compromise, Llandaff, like London, became under the new order of things dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul.

The foreign monks and Henry II. were not aware that *Insulæ Pomorum*, or "Apples Island," was a name the Druids applied to each of their mounds, as the symbol of the whole world surrounded by the ocean, as the garden-orchard which He himself had planted (Ps. xxiv.). It was the same as *Adonidis Hortus* (Garden of Adonis) of other nations. Therefore, to say that Arthur, the personified Sun, was buried in *Insulæ Pomorum*, which they supposed was Glastonbury only, was a fraud. The Tor, Round Mound, at Glastonbury is the original Avallon.

The Druids placed the sepulchre of the Solar Arthur on the Western Ocean, but symbolically, in the *Navis* or Nave or Boat Shrine of the Queen of Heaven.¹ The fabulists seem to have had a hint of this, for they associated Glastonbury with the Blessed Virgin Mary, whom they placed in the *Vesica Piscis*,² or an opened-out Delphos ("Dolphin"), a Babylonian Fish-emblem of the said *Navis*, instead of the Boat-shrine of Ceridwen of the Druids. A Rocking-stone is another of its emblems.

From A.D. 447, the time King Tewdrig admitted Illtyd and his continental followers into Glamorgan, ostensibly to destroy the Morien-Pelagian heresy, until the reigns of Henry I. and Henry II., the utmost efforts of the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church through Canterbury had failed to destroy the separate identity of the ancient Church of Britain; but the Roman, or Papal, clergy now employed the military forces of the Norman dynasty in England to carry out that wicked project.

¹ Arthur, or the Sun's Disk personified, was supposed to die each year on December 25. After the lapse of forty hours a babe Arthur came in place of the old Arthur.

² Oannés, the Man-Fish of Babylon!

There appeared, in A.D. 1176, a formidable champion of the Britannic Church in Wales, named Giraldus de Barri, who assumed the name, Giraldus Cambrensis, or the Welshman. His father was De Barri, a Norman who had married Lady Angharad, the daughter of Princess Nesta, daughter of King Rhys ap Tewdwr, by Lord Gerald de Windsor, Pembroke Castle. St. David's was still the Archbishopric of Wales and nominally of England, and the clergy of Wales elected him Archbishop of St. David's.

Henry II. sent for those clergymen of Wales to go to him at Winchester; and on their appearing before him, he asked them in a threatening manner, "How of themselves, and without his order, they had had the boldness, not only to choose a bishop, but to occupy themselves at all in his election?" Then, in his own bedchamber, he commanded them to choose there and then a Norman monk, named Peter de Leia. They did not know him, and now heard his name for the first time. But, trembling for their personal safety, they elected him, and returned then to Wales.

After a while Archbishop Peter, but acknowledged Bishop of St. David's only, arrived at St. David's accompanied by his Norman lacqueys, and by men and women of his own family, amongst whom later he distributed the territorial possessions of the Church of St. David's, the gifts of pious Welshmen of the olden time.

He further imposed the Taille (entails) that belonged to that church upon his own Norman clergy; he took tithe of the cattle of the natives; he extracted aids and presents from all the people of his diocese at the four great festivals of the year. He vexed the natives of the country so cruelly that, notwithstanding the danger of resisting a bishop imposed upon them by the Norman king, the Welsh drove Bishop Peter away.

At this time Giraldus, the Welshman, was in France an exile.

He was there, in indigent circumstances, eight years. Then, notwithstanding the danger, he decided to return to the diocese of St. David. He was then appointed by

the expelled Peter his vicar-bishop as the result of correspondence with each other, Peter being himself out of danger somewhere from the furious Kimmerians of Wales.

But Bishop Peter, from his safe retreat, was ordering Giraldus to excommunicate those in Pembrokeshire, &c., whom he dared not face himself; and Giraldus threw up in disgust his deputyship at St. David's.

The Normans were now preparing for the invasion of Ireland, and they offered him the choice of three bishoprics in Ireland. Giraldus declined the honour. "I refused," says he in his autobiography, "because the Irish, like the Welsh, will never take or accept for bishop a stranger, unless compelled by violence to do so." Bishop Peter died in 1198, and instantly the Welsh clergy again elected Giraldus Cambrensis.

King John, successor of Henry II., fell into a violent passion, and directed the Archbishop of Canterbury to proclaim the election null and void.

The object, states Thierry, was the enslavement of Wales, and a strong army alone could have frustrated the infamous design; and in the absence of such a power, Giraldus went himself to Rome to place the matter before the Pope. He had been forestalled; he found at the Papal Court commissioners from King John, stating that "Giraldus was endeavouring to rouse Wales against the King of England." The royal commissioners "had brought from their master magnificent presents to the Pope and his cardinals, while Giraldus brought only worm-eaten title-deeds and the humble supplications of Wales."

After five years' suspense, the Pope and his cardinals rejected Giraldus. The Welsh clergy, in sheer terror, now submitted, and when Giraldus returned home, all doors were closed against him by a now timid and submissive people.

He was now cruelly taunted publicly by the Bishop of Ely that his own people had turned against him.

Giraldus replied, "I did not think the freeborn Welshmen were capable of bending to the yoke like your Saxons, who have been so long slaves and vanquished men, and with whom servitude has become a second nature."

In future Giraldus is found as a writer only. But perhaps that was the work Providence had designed for him to do. The Lord of Powys of those days stated as follows, in a great gathering, of Giraldus: "Our country has sustained great conflicts with the men of England; yet never has any one dared to do so much against them as Giraldus, the Bishop-elect of St. David's; for he has withstood their King, their Primate, their clergy, the whole nation of them, in short, for the honour of Wales."¹

Eight chieftains of Wales appealed as follows to Henry II. against the foreign brigands, under the names of bishops and priests, who were being imposed upon the Welsh people: "These bishops," said they, "arriving from another land, hate us and our country; they who are our mortal enemies, can they feel an interest for the salvation of our souls? They are placed amongst us, as if in ambuscade, to discharge their shafts against our backs, and to excommunicate us on the first order for them to do so.

"Whenever an expedition is prepared in England against us, the Primate of Canterbury suddenly places under interdict (cut off from the Church) that part of Wales which it is proposed to invade.

"Our bishops, who are his (Canterbury's) creatures, hurl their anathemas against the Kimmerians collectively; but by their proper names against the chiefs who take up arms to lead them to battle, so that such of us as perish in the defence of Wales die excommunicated."

Let it be ever remembered that, behind all the civil forces of England in array against Wales and its most ancient native Church, were the myrmidons of the Church of Rome. With all respect for the Church of England in Wales in our time, the spirit of the illustrious prelate Giraldus Cambrensis is seated among the Welsh Nonconformists contentedly at the victory of Wales over the designs of Canterbury in the past.

The soul of Giraldus seems to say: "Ye shall not deem St. David's, Llandaff, St. Asaph, nor Bangor as your

¹ Thierry, pp. 190-192.

Jerusalem or Gerizim, but the Father is now worshipped everywhere in Wales."

The attack on the Britannic Church surviving in Wales began when, on July 12, 1115, Bernard, a Norman, was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury Bishop of St. David's. Until then he had been chaplain to Henry I. and chancellor to his queen. In this election the clergy of St. David's and the other Bishops of Wales had not been consulted at all.

Bishop Godwin, Llandaff, states (1615) that Bernard bribed men of influence at Court, with a view to gain their support to have for himself higher preferment; and the means for this bribery was taken from the diocese of St. David's.

But there was one thing in Bernard which won the esteem of the Welsh, viz. he asserted he was the Archbishop of St. David's, and would have the cross carried before him, as archbishop, in both Wales and England. He was Archbishop of St. David's until his decease, after thirty years, in 1148.

He was succeeded by Archbishop David Fitzgerald, son of Princess Nesta and Gerald de Windsor, and brother to Lady Angharad, the mother of Giraldus Cambrensis, by De Barri. Bishop David II. died in 1176. Peter de Leia, Prior of Gwentloog (co. Mon.), was appointed next, in spite of the Welsh clergy as stated above.

During the whole of those years, from A.D. 1115 till the disappearance of Giraldus Cambrensis about 1198, the forgers were at work in laying a fresh but artificial foundation to the Church in Wales, inventing dummy characters as "saints" who never existed. We will briefly describe, as seen through fire and smoke, the epoch culminating in that when the forgers were pleased to place the fraudulent second foundation of the Cambro-British Church, representing the ancient Church of all Britain.

CHAPTER VIII

KING TEWDRIG'S ROYAL ANCESTORS—BRITONS AND ROMANS

WE learn that King Tewdrig's father was King Taithvallt, who is also called Taithvalch. In one of the charters in *Liber Landavensis*, p. 442, we find the following: "Be it known that great tribulation and plundering happened in the time of Taithvallt and Ithel, Kings of Wales, which were committed by the most treacherous Saxon nation, principally along the border of Wales and England in the direction of Hereford, so that all the borders of Wales were nearly destroyed, together with much beyond those borders in England and Wales, especially about the River Wye."

In page 354 we have the names of Taithvallt and Tewdrig his son. In the Iolo MSS., p. 352, we have the name of Taithvallt's father, which was Nynyaw, the same name as that borne by the Britannic prince, who, in a battle in Kent, engaged the bald-headed—he is always "the Bald" in Welsh annals—Julius Cæsar. Classic authors tell us he always went bareheaded.

Cæsar struck his sword, named "Yellow Death," fast into the shield of Prince Nynyaw, who carried it away, though himself mortally wounded. He died a fortnight later, and the said sword was buried with him under the North Gate, London.

This Nynyaw was brother to King Lludd and Cassivellanus of Cæsar's *Commentaries*. But the point here is, that the name of Nynyaw is perpetuated in the royal family of South Wales. See Nynyaw in p. 82 of *Hystoria Brenhined Britanyet*.

The later Nynyaw is said to have been the son of a later Bran than Bran the Blessed; that he was the son of Edric,

son of Crair, son of Meirig, and so on, back to Pope Linus, son of Caractacus, son of Bran the Blessed.

It appears that the succession to the throne, from Lucius, son of King Coel, had ended, but had been resumed in another line, descending from Owen, another son of Linus, Owen being a brother to Coel, the father of Lucius, otherwise Lles ap Coel, *alias* Lleurwg Mawr, or "Great Light."

Owen resided at Llanweryd, now St. Donats Castle, built by his ancestor, General Caractacus. We thus see that King Tewdrig was descended through Caractacus, from Bran the Blessed, who is called the Archon of the ancient Christian Church of Britain; and from Belinus the Great, the father of Cassivelaunus, Lludd, and Nynyaw.

In after ages, this descent caused the family to repudiate all other claimants to the throne of Britain—Unbenaeth Brydain, "the Sovereignty of Britain"—and later of Wales, after the limitation of that ancient sovereignty to Wales alone. Then Wales became divided into four other sovereignties, leaving the original royal family in Siluria alone.

Thus Siluria, or Gwent and Morganwg, under the original royal family, continued isolated from the rest of Wales until the downfall of the family at the time when the Norman, Sir Robert Fitzhamon, in *circa* A.D. 1088, de-throned at Cardiff King Jestyn ap Gwrgan, the last native King of Siluria.

King Owen aforesaid also is said to have given endowments to the Church of South Wales, otherwise Siluria (Iolo MSS., p. 350). In the said page King Meirig is stated to be the son of Meirchion, son of Tewdrig. But it appears that the same scribe who mistook the Greek title of Archon in its abbreviated form Arch, as applied to Bran the Blessed, inferred also that Meirig and Meirchion were separate individuals.

We have the Royal Park of Pencoed, Llanailteyrn, one of the palaces of King Meirig, still called Parc Coed Meirchion. It appears that Meirchion signifies "Chief of Knights," and applies to King Meirig himself.

It will be borne in mind that, at the time of which we write, the Romans still dominated in England, but with the utmost difficulty, owing to the intrepid valour of the Britons there.

Our list of Kings of Siluria presents before us a galaxy of patriotic royal warriors unequalled in history; and, in God's name, let us not forget them! Let us glance through authentic history, casting to the winds the blatant nonsense of later monks of the school of Geffrey of "Monmouth," but really of Llandaff.

No vast Roman walls are met with in Wales, such as are found intersecting England and Scotland. What history beholds are, provisions made to protect Roman-England from valiant Wales!

We behold in England, during the Roman occupation of it, two British, *i.e.* Welsh emperors. Those are Carawn, called Carusus, of Cardigan, after whom, it is safe to assert, Cil Carawn Castle and Tre Carawn are named.

The other Welsh emperor is Macsen Wledig, or Clemens Maximus. He was from Ewyas, of which Abergavenny is the principal town, therefore we say he was from the town of Abergavenny.

Whittaker, in his invaluable *History of Manchester*—a work too little known—states as follows: "The Romans having previously carried their arms into the middle of the island, they now secured their conquests by constructing a range of forts upon their northern limits, in order to cut off the communications between the conquered and unconquered Britons, and thereby prevent an invasion of the conquered Britons by the unconquered ones.

"For that purpose Ostorius carried a regular chain of camps along the Severn and Upper River Avon, county Warwick and county Northampton; afterwards it was continued along the river Nen of the latter to the marshes of the eastern coast.

"Then another chain of forts, before the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), from Edinburgh to the Tyne; a third chain was constructed by Agricola (A.D. 78), between the Forth and Clyde rivers." (*History of Manchester*, vol. ii. p. 259.)

It is obvious the forts and camps on the east of the Severn to the Avon at Gloucester were to defend the western side of those forts from Wales situate on the west of that chain.

Whittaker continues: "The main body of Roman troops was now stationed along the line of Severus' Wall (A.D. 194-211) and the eastern and south-eastern coast. The latter was guarded by ten stations (garrisons), stretching from Yorkshire into Essex. This wall was 8 feet in thickness and 12 feet in height, and it had eighteen forts and various turrets" (*ibid.*, p. 365).

In another page we have an account of a gallant attempt by Ireland to expel the Romans from England.

"An expedition was organised in Ireland by Neil Na Caillac, consisting of the whole power of Ireland, and it sailed towards Pembroke (Dimetia). The war galleys had masts and sails.

"They conquered the greater part there, and then set sail for North Wales, and from there entered Lancashire across the Southern Channel (A.D. 395). Stilicho sent fresh Roman troops to Britain to assist to repel the Irish invaders; and Kyneddawg, chief of the Banau Coed y Din (Guotadin)—county Brecon—actually assisted the Romans in the ensuing struggle." (*Vide* Nennius, pp. 102, 142.)

We thus obtain most interesting glimpses of the "Unconquered of the Britons."

On the capture of Caractacus by treachery in A.D. 52, on the death of Ostorius, his successor Didius made a dash as far as Cardiff, but was stopped on the eastern side of the Rumney River, where the remains of Didius's camp are still visible.

The natives call it still *Caer "Did,"* corrupted to "*dydd.*"

Caer däv, from which the name Cardiff is a corruption, means the fort at the mouth of the river Taff, a different place altogether from *Caer "Didius."*

The Romans were sent flying back to *Caerwent*, and they did not again reach Cardiff until they advanced under

Julius Frontinus, in *circa* A.D. 78, when he widened and straightened the ancient highway from England (Lloe-gr) *via* Gloucester to St. David's; a road still known as the Via Julia or Julius.

The road-making delighted the Kimmerians on the hills, but the road-makers had to bolt five years later. It was surveyed, and the military stations fixed and named. In that survey Cardiff is not mentioned at all, but Caer "Didius" is, under the Latin-Welsh, Rat-Tabulus, or Roath on the Taav; correctly it should be Rhath on the Rumney.

It is known that by A.D. 84 the Romans left Wales as an unconquered part of Britain; and there existed another formidable peril to the Roman dominions in England, between the Roman walls, intersecting it in all directions, with a view to isolate the Britons in batches.

It is most significant, and it kindles our admiration for our ancestors to witness how the Romans sought to hem in among their mountains the heroic descendants of the Gimirrai of Asia Minor!

The unconquered XX Legion, called the Velan Victrix, was quartered at Chester to protect the Romans from the Welsh of North Wales!

The II Legion of Augustus was stationed at the advance post of Caerleon-on-Usk; and in its rear a few miles was the gigantic City of Refuge in stress, with immense walls and bastions, called Venta Silurum¹ and now Caer(G.)went. That name signifies the "Camp of Co. Monmouth."

Three miles in the rear of Caerwent was stationed the Twin Legion, called Gemini, known also as the Seventh Legion. From behind those tremendous forces we gaze towards the west, to gallant little Wales! Those forces were to hold Wales back. Why? Rome itself quailed before the terrific Silurians, and deemed it best to leave them alone—

"Among the hills whose brows defied
The crested Roman in his hour of pride."

¹ It is said that burdock grows luxuriantly where human blood has been shed. The field bordering the lower walls of Caerwent is one mass of burdock.

Glamorgan and co. Monmouth are the heroic Sparta of Britannia.

But a time of misfortune ensued in consequence of the ambition of Clemens Maximus of Abergavenny. He made up his mind to invade Rome itself, as Brennus had done long before.

The father of Clemens Maximus was the son of Llwydrod, son of Trehaiarn, who was a brother of the Empress Helena, wife of Constantius, and mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great. In the *Greal* is an ancient document printed there, where is mentioned Elen Llwyddawg, a name which signifies "Elen the Fortunate," or "Lucky Elen." Maximus's wife was named Elen, and they left three sons, Peblig, Cystenyn, and Owain. He built three cities: Caer Sallog (Caernarvon), Caer Alun (Haverfordwest), and Caervyrthin (Caermarthen).

Now, due to the denuding Britain of its warriors by the said Maximus, and to the same practice by previous Roman authorities, Britain was left defenceless, except Wales, to the invasions by Jutes, Angles, and Saxons.

It is evident that his intention was viewed with uncontrollable enthusiasm by all the Britons. There was something highly fascinating in the idea of the Britons retaliating upon the Romans, who had invaded the Britons, by the Britons turning the tables and in their turn invading the Romans. Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 444, states: "The youth of Britain crowded to the standard of Clemens Maximus. He sent them across to the Continent by a fleet of sails, and the event was long remembered as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation" (A.D. 385).

In a footnote Gibbon adds: "Archbishop Ussher, who has diligently collected the legends respecting Britain and the Continent, finds that the emigration consisted of thirty thousand men-at-arms and one hundred thousand rank and file."

It is well at present to remind the reader that the

English nation had not then come into existence in the modern meaning of the name. The army of France (Gaul), instead of opposing the march of Maximus, received him with joy and loyal acclamations, and the shame of deserting Gratian (Gratianus) was transferred from the people to the prince, who was the Emperor of the Roman Empire of the West. Gratian was murdered in August A.D. 383. Maxen became sovereign of Britain, France, and Spain, but in A.D. 385 he was defeated by the Emperor Theodosius, sovereign of the Eastern Roman Empire, and put to death.

CHAPTER IX

THE KIDNAPPING OF ST. PATRICK-MAENGWYN

IN A.D. 420, the very time Pelagius disappeared from among men, his Alma Mater, or the university where he was reared in Glamorgan, together with its town, was burnt to the ground with its seven colleges. Thus, after flourishing about three centuries and a half as the centre of Christian culture for the whole world, the university became a heap of ruins. It does not appear that any writer has before noticed the coincidence between the disappearance of Morien-Pelagius and the destruction of his university. It is stated in p. 455, Iolo MSS., the destroyers landed from the Severn Channel on the coast near where the colleges and town stood.

That, in addition to leaving the whole place a heap, they took away much booty, such as corn, cattle, and infants of both sexes, and doubtless what treasures had survived the fires, in palaces and the seven colleges.

A few years ago was found, in a field north of the town—the field is called locally Cae Maiad, or the “Maying Battle Field”—the remains of a large palace, whose arrangements proved it had belonged to a Romanised Briton, as regards architectural structure and decorations. Its floors were tessellated, and it seemed that some of the rooms were divided from each other by arches, from which, doubtless, curtains were suspended. In the great entrance hall were the skeletons of about thirty men, women, and children, with cracked skulls. At the end of a passage was one skeleton seated on steps leading up on the left to the Hypocaust, some of whose flues were easily identified as such; the skeleton seated had its head resting against the bony hand. The bones of the nose were smashed in. It

appeared as if the woman—for it was that of a female—after receiving a blow on the face with a battle-axe in the entrance hall among the rest massacred there, had escaped along this passage bleeding from her injuries, and died where she had sat fifteen hundred years.

On the piles of dead in the entrance hall were the skeletons of three horses, and under them was that of a man, who was the only one whose head had not been smashed. The inference was that he had ripped the bellies of the horses, which then fell upon him and killed him by their weight. But many others were killed there that day. There were thirty narrow graves, cut in the said pavements of the rooms, and each had a human skeleton, and each was buried with the feet pointing east, an indication the buried ones were Christians at least in name. The fact that the graves, each a foot in depth, were within the rooms of the palace, gave reason to conjecture they were those of the foe slain by the natives in self-defence. What sustains this supposition is, that the skeletons in the hall were left as they fell under murderous blows by horsemen, who had galloped through the lofty entrance into the crowded hall. We saw among the relics two small jaws: one was that of a baby without any sign of a single tooth, the other was the small jaw of a child of about eight; the jaw held the first set, and under them, like pease in a pericarp, was another set. It was a touching sight.

Let any one visiting the field observe seawards, miles away, that an opening had been made in the sky-line, to enable a glimpse of the Severn to be seen from this mansion.

We are told that, near Llantwit Major, Owen, a descendant of General Caradoc (Caractacus), had built a palace after the Roman style; and it is as certain as anything can be that this was that palace. (Iolo MSS.)

All circumstances point to the inference that this was one of those large buildings which were reduced to ashes in A.D. 420.

One of the names in ancient Welsh for a state of hostilities was Maiad or "Maying," because it was among the

Britons of Wales a favourite time for sudden onslaughts on their enemies, because they could in that month of the year, the forests being canopied with leaves, pass unseen through them to dash in various directions upon their foes.

We learn that in the inroads from the Severn in A.D. 420 the pirates spread inland in all directions, and committed great havoc, before the natives were able to muster in sufficient numbers to oppose them.

It is extremely likely it was in this inroad Maengwyn, *alias* St. Patrick, was captured, and, he states, "with thousands of others," and conveyed across the sea.

He states he was taken to Ireland and sold to one Milcho, residing on the western coast of that country, facing the booming Atlantic ocean.

It is well known to scholars, that the Roman Senate directed a survey to be made of the main roads and cross-roads of the Empire from a brass column in the centre of the city of Rome. That survey, which is called the Itinerary of Antoninus, was begun in 44 B.C. in the reign of Augustus and was completed in the reign of Diocletian, A.D. 284-304. In that Itinerary we have the Via Julia (A.D. 78) as the military road, constructed through South Wales by the Roman governor, Julius Frontinus, from Caerwent to St. David's Head. We repeat, in that Itinerary the Cardiff station, as we would now say, is called Rat-Tabulus, or Roath on the Taff. The next station is Tabernæ Amnis, or "Tavern by the River." That implies from the western side of Roath to the eastern bank of the Dawen River at Cowbridge, which had in the town, on the eastern side of the stream, a public-house in A.D. 78.

The next station is Bovum, all the district from the river's western bank to Llantwit Major. In that space is a farm of 900 acres, called Boverton, with a most picturesque ancient village of that name.

In Welsh the name of this place is now Tre Bover-ad.

There is in Ulster, Ireland, a much valued MS. called "The Confessions of St. Patrick." It bears the title, "The Armah and Ulster MS." This copy is known to be a thousand years old. In it St. Patrick says he was taken captive

at the village of Enon, near Bonavem, Tabernæ, in West Britain, where his father, who was a deacon, and named Calpurnus, lived. In the native annals of Wales Calpurnus's Welsh name is given as Mawon. In Welsh, Cowbridge is called Y Bontvon, and, as we have seen, in Latin, Tabernæ, the very name St. Patrick gives as being near Enon. (Onen, "Ash.")

There cannot be any doubt that the "Bonavem" of the MS. is the "Bontvon," slightly mutilated by transcribers.

A short distance outside the town of Cowbridge is a place called Pedr-Onen. The association of Peter with the Onen, the Welsh for an ash tree, indicates ecclesiastical associations with it.

Patrick is from the Welsh Pedrawg, the old Welsh for Peterite. That became altered to Padrig and Patric and Pedrog, and finally altered to Patrick.

In those old days in Wales, some were in favour of the assumption that they were Peterites: others would be Paulites. We know that St. Patrick's native Welsh name was Maenwyn, translated, "Sacred Stone" (Petros), a name of Druidic import.

In the "Confessions," St. Patrick, apparently alluding to his native name, says "he was a Stone picked out of the mire."

It appears that either DEACON Calpurnus was a Peterite, or that his son, Maenwyn, later on became one himself, which, judging by his high station among the canonised worthies of the Papal Church, seems was the case. He states he was kidnapped at the age of sixteen.

We perceive in the foregoing that the village was named "The Ash." That, again, conveys it was a single tree, and a notable feature of the village. St. Patrick does not state it was called Peter's Ash, but simply Onen, or "The Ash." How, then, came the name Peter afterwards to be associated with the ancient tree? We think it was due to the circumstance that the lad of sixteen had climbed that old ash tree of the village, and endeavoured to escape the observation of the kidnappers, but that he was observed up among its leaves—it was in the month of May—and was taken, to the great merriment of the hardy pirates.

The scene appears to have been long remembered, and in the course of years it became generally known as Pedr-Onen, still so named, or "Patrick's Ash Tree." It is still so named.

It is important to bear in mind that in those Roman days the natives invariably had both a Kimmerian and a Latin name, as exemplified by the names Caradoc and Caractacus, Cyllin and Linus, Eurgan and Claudia, and Arwystl Hen (Aristobulus), or the "Aged Pawned One," Bren and Archon (Greek), Paul and Ilid, Saul and Paul, Peter and Simon, &c. (*Vide* Rev. Rees Rice, M.A., *Welsh Saints*, p. 129.)

St. Patrick himself states that he was during six years the slave of the man Milcho, in Ireland, and that he was employed in feeding cattle.

When he was twenty-two years of age he was dreaming, and he heard a voice saying unto him, "Thou fastest well, and shalt return quickly to your own country"; and after a little while the voice said, "Lo, the ship is ready." He then ran away from Milcho, and after a journey of 200 miles, he came to a ship going to sail for Britain (Wales).

He applied for a passage by it, but intimated he could not pay for his passage. The skipper answered sharply that that being the case, he should not have a passage in his ship.

Previous to going to the ship he had lodged in a hut, and was on his way back to it, but prayed by the way. Before he had finished praying, he heard one of the sailors shouting, "Come quickly!" He did so, and the skipper said, "Come along; be one of us. We will receive you, trusting in your good faith." At those words, says the saint, he thought of "Faith" in the Lord Jesus. It appears, from further observations he makes, that the ship was a pirate or buccaneer, and he calls them Gentiles (heathens) in the scriptural sense.

After a sail of three days, the ship reached land. It appears the ship was wrecked, for St. Patrick says that he and they tramped during twenty-eight days through a wilderness, and they were starving.

One day the skipper said to him, "Christian, what

sayest thou? Thy God is great and powerful, why canst thou not pray for us? for we are in danger of perishing from hunger."

While Patrick was praying, a herd of swine appeared before them.

The company killed some of the swine, and cooked the meat and ate it. They tarried there two nights and rested.

Thus refreshed, they resumed their journey, and had food in abundance.

Patrick being regarded as the instrument of their good luck, was honoured by them.

One night he felt a strong desire to call out "Helios!" (the sun). Meanwhile he beheld the sun rising, and he cried out, "Helios!" "Helios!" with all his might, and the sun shone upon him, and all the heaviness he had felt left him.

"I believe," he goes on to state, "I was thus relieved by Christ."

(It was believed in Egypt the Amen dwells in the sun's disk.¹ This reference to the sun indicates that the document dates from the remote period when the solar association of religion had not yet quite disappeared from the thoughts of even men like St. Patrick.)

"I believe," St. Patrick goes on to say, "I was thus relieved by Christ," and he quotes the words, "But unto you that fear my Name the Sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings" (Malachi iv. 2).

Nothing can prove the antiquity of the "Confessions" better than this reference to the sun, for even then the Britons would not stand with their backs to the regal sun, and even now in country places in Wales no one will think of building a house without placing its front door to face the noontide sun.

They, long after this period, never drank any beverage without bowing to the sun. Drinking health is a survival

¹ Dr. Budge's *Nile*, p. 262; Revelations iii. 14. Ra is the Sun: Amen and Ra.

of this sacramental observance to the Father of Light and fertiliser of Nature's seeds. (S. James i. 17.)

St. Patrick states, further, that the Christians adore the true sun. Sol was long afterwards continued to be spelt "son" and "sonne." (Mabyn.)

Patrick then goes on to describe himself at home again with his parents (near Cowbridge).

He intimates he was twice taken a captive to Ireland, and that after each time he returned home to Britain. His parents, he says, implored him, after all his tribulations, to remain at home. But, says he, one night he saw a man named Victorinus coming as it were from Ireland, bringing epistles innumerable, and he gave one of them to him. "And," says St. Patrick, "I began to read it. The beginning words were, 'The Voice of the Irish'; and while I was reading the beginning of the petition, I thought I heard the voices of the inhabitants of the woods of Fool-cat saying unto me, as if with one voice, 'We beseech thee, holy youth, come again to walk among us?'"

Thus St. Patrick left his native village, The Ash, near Tabernæ (tavern by the Dawen River), co. Glamorgan, and settled for the rest of his mortal life in Ireland.

Giraldus Cambrensis, and also John of Teignmouth, state that St. Patrick dwelt at one time in the Vallis Rosina, St. Menevia, otherwise St. David's, and built there a monastery. But being commanded by an angel, he departed for Ireland.

Now we learn that about A.D. 600 there was a great university also at Bangor Iscoed, co. Flint, and here we have it proved that until A.D. 420 there was another great university at Llantwit Major, co. Glamorgan.

Then a later one, built in the next reign, that of King Meirig, after the restoration of the latter by King Tewdrig of Siluria in A.D. 447, namely, Llancarvan. It opened with the greatest scholar of the ancient Britons as Principal, namely, Catwg Ddoeth, or "The Wise." Catwg's compositions in prose and verse fill 100 pages of the *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, published in circa 1800. Two centuries

after the destruction of Bangor Iscoed by the Saxons, we find the Saxon King Alfred sending to South Wales for a teacher for himself, namely, Asser, called in the Welsh annals Y Bardd Glas or Gadair, or the "Chaired Blue Bard." All those facts indicate the high state of culture and learning in Wales in those far-off centuries long before the frauds of the Norman monks touching Dubricius, Teilo, King Arthur, &c.

CHAPTER X

AN ANCIENT REFUGE FROM PIRATES IN THE VALE OF GLAMORGAN

STANDING about a mile from the Severn at Wick, Southern-down Road Station, Vale of Glamorgan, in a great green campania, richly dotted with homesteads, is an extremely interesting ruin of the great refuge, provided as a shelter for women and children in its upper storey, and for cattle on the vast ground floor, when piratical ships were seen in the Channel coming to steal as many Silurian children as they could kidnap in order to sell them in other countries. Locally it is called, Buarth Mawr y Wig; in English, the "Great Sanctuary of Wick." Buarth is old Welsh for "Sanctuary" or "Refuge," as exemplified in the phrase, "Buarth Beirdd, heddd ein pobl oedd." ("The Sanctuary of the Druids gave peace to our people.")

The following is the dimensions of the ruin :—

Length within the walls, 111 feet.

Width, 33 feet.

Height of the walls, 14 feet.

Thickness of the walls, about 3 feet 6 inches.

Entrance hall, with spiral staircase, 8 feet wide.

The entire walls are now roofless and indicate great antiquity. Its superficial area within the walls is 1221 square yards. The top of the lofty wall, all around, is covered with ivy of the luxuriant order.

The inhabitants never allude to it as a "Castell," as they are apt to do in the case of similar ruins.

Its central position and huge dimensions, together with its proximity to the Severn, and further its name, prove it was erected in the time of Saxon and Irish-Vichti, or Picts' marauding voyages to the coasts of Wales.

Local tradition still speaks of its ancient use, and that the women and children and the aged were sheltered in its vast loft, while the strong men went to deal with the robbers in the open country.

The children of the Britons who had been so kidnapped in the north of England by the Angles, were seen by Gregory in the markets at Rome, as mentioned by the Venerable Beda in the eighth century. He states that the said Cardinal, afterwards Pope, when he beheld them, said they were angelic in beauty; hence Lloegr came to be called Angles-Land, now England.

The infamous practice of kidnapping young children by pirates along the coast of Wales was in vogue down to Tudor times. On one occasion a Tynte of Cevn Mably, one morning in the south of France, overheard a milkmaid singing, while milking, the following Welsh trian:—

“Tri dawnswyr pena Cymmri
Yw Tynte o Gevn Mabli,
Scwier Lewis gwyh or Van,
A Syr John Carne o Wenni.”

Translation.

“Three dancers best in Kimmri
Are Tynte of Cevn Mabli,
Grand Scwier Lewis of the Van,
And Sir John Carn of Wenni.”

He left his carriage and inquired where was she from? She replied she had long ago been kidnapped from Glamorgan; but she did not know where the place was. Needless to add she was quickly in his carriage and brought home; but whether her parents were discovered it is not stated.

Hen Noddfa 'r Wig ger Hafren for,
Bu ynot gynt ryw werthfawr stor;
Lle Noddfa Mam a' i Baban bach,
A cedwaist hwynt yn fyw ac iach.

CHAPTER XI

WHO WAS GEFFREY OF LLANDAFF, *ALIAS* "OF MONMOUTH"?

ACCORDING to *Liber Landavensis* Uchtryd was Archdeacon of Llandaff till A.D. 1139 when he was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff, and died in 1148. He had a brother named Arthur whose son Geffrey—Geffrey ap Arthur—was his adopted son.

Bishop Thomas Godwin of Llandaff, writing in A.D. 1615, states that Bishop Uchtryd had a daughter married to Lord Edward ap Owen ap Caradoc, of Caerleon-on-Usk, "a great and mighty man of those parts." He led the charge of Earl Robert's cavalry at Lincoln on February 2, 1141.¹ This Geffrey succeeded Uchtryd, but as bishop-designate only, he dying before being consecrated in A.D. 1153 in his own house at Llandaff, where it appeared he had lived all his days. Some say he died at Mass.

Owing, it seems, to the similarity of names, he is everywhere confounded with Gruffyth ab Arthur, Archdeacon of Monmouth, called also Godfrey, who was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, February 24, 1152, and Abbot of Abbingdon in 1165, which he held with the bishopric until A.D. July 11, 1175.

Caradoc of Llancarvan, Geffrey of Llandaff's contemporary, speaks as follows of the real writer of the Anglo-Welsh productions going under the name "Geffrey of Monmouth," that, when nominated Bishop of Llandaff, he was then already the archdeacon there, and it seems that since the death of his uncle, Bishop Uchtryd, in 1148, he had performed the duties of a Bishop of Llandaff.

¹ When King Stephen was captured and taken to Bristol Castle.

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In 1147 Earl Robert Fitzroy, Lord Paramount of Glamorgan, and Earl of Gloucester, had died. Geffrey had been on most intimate terms with this illustrious Earl, and he dedicated his *History of the Kings of Britain* to him. Further, he was afterwards chaplain to Earl William, the son and successor of Earl Robert, whom he succeeded in 1147.

It is highly probable that this chaplaincy had been occupied during the time of Earl William's father, who was much in England supporting his half-sister, the Empress Matilda, against the usurper King Stephen. For a highly interesting account of Earl Robert, see *William of Malmesbury*, vol. i.

That Geffrey was long on terms of intimacy with Earl Robert Fitzroy, son of Henry I. by Princess Nesta, Dinevor Castle, daughter of King Rhys, son of Tudor, a name signifying the "Big Man," is seen further in the fact that in A.D. 1129 he and Archdeacon Walter Mapes, Llancarvan Seminary, Archdeacon of Oxford, signed their names to the foundation charter of Oshey Abbey, near Oxford. Archdeacon Walter Mapes was himself a Glamorgan man, being a native of Tre-Walter, near Llancarvan, Vale of Glamorgan. It will be remembered we state elsewhere he was the son of Blondel de Mapes, who was one of the twelve Norman Knights who accompanied Sir Robert Fitzhamon to Glamorgan in A.D. 1088. Blondel de Mapes in that painful confiscation of the landed estates of the native chiefs of Glamorgan, received from Fitzhamon the estate of Gwaerydd, son of Seisyllt, at Llancarvan.

Blondel, however, married Lady Flur, the daughter of the said Gwaerydd, and had by her two sons, Hubert and Walter. Hubert died single, and his share of the estate passed to Walter—it looks as if Hubert being the elder, was the heir, and that this was the reason why Walter had been brought up to the Church, and that it was as the result of his elder brother's unexpected death he inherited all the freeholds while still a cleric.

He named his residence by the Welsh name Tre-Walter, or "Walter's Home." A slight hint, such as call-

ing his residence by a Welsh name, indicates Walter had a strong leaning for his mother, Lady Flur's people in Glamorgan.

It appears certain that Earl Robert Fitzroy was brought up at Cardiff Castle. He, being a descendant of the Tudor Kings of West Wales or Demetia, was too valuable an instrument calculated to influence the Welsh nation by his presence to be content and quiet, to be taken out of Glamorgan. For his presence in Cardiff Castle must have been highly pleasing to the natives, being as he was a scion of their own royalty, placed as if providentially in the very centre of Norman Glamorgan authority, to be taken elsewhere. Further, all West Wales looked upon his presence there, he the grandson of Rhys Tudor, as a native triumph over the late wretched King Jestyn, by actually dwelling in his palaces, and allied too with the blood of William the Conqueror, the mighty king-warrior who had lowered into the dust the Saxons, the inveterate foes of the ancient Britons of Wales.

Another inmate of Cardiff Castle at the time was little Mably, the only child of Sir Robert Fitzhamon and Lady Sibyl his wife.

Those two children grew up to be illustrious and were eventually joined in wedlock. Lady Mably was the sole heiress of her father, and by Earl Robert's marriage with her he became, to the joy of all Wales, Lord Paramount of Glamorgan, and first Earl of Gloucester by the act of his father Henry I.

That Earl Robert Fitzroy, meaning "Son of the King," became an immense favourite with the people of Glamorgan is proved by the fact that the Glamorgan bards called themselves the "Bards of the Earl's Lands"; and down to the present day the bards of Glamorgan name themselves *Beirdd Tir Yr Iarll*, or the "Bards of the Earl's Lands." He evidently, from the moment he could wield power, placed his shield over them as a brotherhood, and there is no doubt he frequently encouraged them in every way. He was sufficiently wise also to patronise the Norman monks everywhere.

When young Earl Robert Fitzroy was about seventeen years of age, in A.D. 1106, a most illustrious state prisoner was brought to Cardiff Castle, who was his uncle, his father's brother, namely, Duke Robert of Normandy, and possibly he had been named after him at the baptismal font. It was impossible that one of Earl Robert Fitzroy's brilliant talents could fail to be deeply interested in his unfortunate uncle, Duke Robert, and doubtless they frequently met together in most friendly social intercourse. It is known that Duke Robert was by the conditions of his parole allowed to go about within a radius of twelve miles of Cardiff Castle, and one likes to picture young Robert accompanying his illustrious uncle on rides as far as Llantrisant, Cowbridge, and Newport. Duke Robert died at Cardiff Castle in A.D. 1134.

According to the Welsh records, Duke Robert of Normandy acquired a perfect knowledge of the Welsh language; for he had mastered its intricate rules of versification, and we have in the vernacular still one of his poetical compositions. The late Ab Iolo Morganwg translated it into English. These significant lines occur in it:—

“An oak that grew on top of a dike :
But after bloodshed's direful wrong,
Woe awaits the man ; among wretches long !”

The first line is a covert allusion to a certain “man's station from which he fell among wretches.” The second alludes to the barbarity of his brother in usurping his rights; and the last, to his own unfaithful associates in the days of his power as the Duke of Normandy, son of the Conqueror. The literal beginning of the poem is as follows: “Dar a dyfwys ar y clawdd”—“An oak that grew on the top of a dike.” That is an allusion to the high station near the throne (dike) of William the Conqueror, where he was reared.

It is stated in the same ancient records, that it was while witnessing the Welsh bards attending festivals at Cardiff Castle, Duke Robert became interested in the bardic brotherhood and their craft.

In those years, there were in constant demand at Cardiff Castle two eminent Welsh scholars, who were also the most eminent as classical scholars of the age. Those were Geffrey of Llandaff, nephew and adopted son of Uchtryd, the then Bishop of Llandaff; and also Walter Mapes (Archdeacon of Oxford), of the College of Llan-carvan. It is true we can only infer he was from that college, because it was on his father's estate, and close to where he himself afterwards built a palace and a village, both still bearing his own name. We can safely state that during all his life, including the later years of Duke Robert's life at Cardiff Castle (1134), Geffrey was busily engaged in studying Welsh bardic legends, Welsh MSS., and Welsh traditions. Four years after the death of Duke Robert, Geffrey published his celebrated *History of the Kings of Britain*, a work indicative of his close association with Earl Robert Fitzroy, whom he extols. He dedicates the work to that noble earl. We cannot be wrong when we infer the MS. of the work was first read to the earl, before it was issued to the world, an event which astonished all literary Europe.

Walter Mapes was a master of Welsh, proved by a treatise on agriculture by him in Welsh, which is still in MS. There are many indications to the effect that Geffrey also was a Welsh scholar, but not proved so conclusively as in the instance of Walter Mapes.

It is to be observed that Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, states that it was he who translated the *History of the Kings of Britain* from Welsh into Latin, and in his old age translated it from Latin into Welsh. That is a most extraordinary statement. It implies one of two things, viz. that either the original version in Welsh had been lost in his lifetime and only his Latin translation remained "in his old age," or that he and Geffrey together imposed the joint novel upon the world as true history. It is clear from what Giraldus Cambrensis states, in A.D. 1188, touching the fabulous character of this Chronicle, that this is the correct conclusion. Who could have been learned enough to be allowed constant intercourse with Duke Robert necessary

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to teach him the Welsh language and the mysteries of the rules of Welsh versification, than Geffrey and Walter Mapes? Further, who so competent to educate both Robert Fitzroy and Mably Fitzhamon than those two consummate scholars? We conclude that Walter and Geffrey were their educators either at Cardiff Castle, Llandaff, or Llancarvan.

In Iolo Morganwg's notes to Camden's *Britannia*, he states it was through the intercession of Ivor Bach, Castell Coch, Henry I. withdrew from his brother, Duke Robert, some of the original restrictions upon his movements, and permitted him to go about on parole, within the radius of twelve miles of Cardiff Castle. Now, in the foregoing we are able to obtain a slight view of the men and some of the inner social order of Cardiff Castle at that period.

When Earl Robert Fitzroy was about twenty-six years of age, we find Walter Mapes, Tre-Walter, Llancarvan, appointed Archdeacon of Oxford, and we conjecture that the appointment was made through the influence of Earl Robert Fitzroy with his father Henry I. in London. We know he was a great favourite with his royal father.

Moreover, we learn that Geffrey was afterwards chaplain to Earl William, son and heir to Earl Robert Fitzroy, who died in A.D. 1147. In 1153 we find Geffrey bishop-designate of Llandaff. It seems that Geffrey had long performed the episcopal duties of his uncle, Bishop of Llandaff, on behalf of his foster-father, and that that prelate had long been in indifferent health; that his learned nephew, Geffrey ab Arthur, had been intended to succeed him, but that the uncle continued in this life until (1148) when the nephew himself was about to depart hence, otherwise he would have received preferment elsewhere as Walter had done at Oxford long before he (Geffrey) became bishop-designate of Llandaff. It is highly probable Geffrey had long been chaplain to Earl Robert before he became, on the death of that earl, chaplain to Earl William, his son.

The celebrated Caradoc of Llancarvan was the contem-

porary of Walter and Geffrey, the three drawing their inspirations from the same font of Welsh learning, a font then in ruins by the influence of Christianity upon Bardism, and Roman and Greek mixed traditions, invading the seats of native learning.

CHAPTER XII

HISTORY OF THE GREAT FORGERY

IN reviewing the annals of the ancient Britannic Church, apart from the present Church of England, unless we adopt the view that the Church in Wales to-day is the elder one revived, one must exercise caution.

For when we come down to periods immediately following the Protestant Reformation in this country, in A.D. 1535, we come upon a state of things when the English Protestants evinced as much enmity towards the Papal Church of Rome as the Papal Church had exercised against the old Church of Britain at the time of St. Augustine, about A.D. 600, and later the Papacy displayed against the older Church of Wales in the time of the occupation of Glamorgan by the Normans from A.D. 1088.

From that date to A.D. 1115 and onwards, the Papal Church strove with all its might, by pious frauds and violence, to obliterate all the records of the ancient Church of Britain, surviving in all its pristine and Apostolic purity in Wales.

In the struggles between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, now called the Greek Church, for the honour of being considered the lineal Church of the Apostles at Jerusalem, and, therefore, to be the only one endowed with the divine virtue called Apostolic succession, invested with the continuity of the stream of divine unction, it was felt to be absolutely incumbent upon the adherents of the Papacy to remove from history, if possible, the records of *another* Church in the west of Europe, whose claim to Apostolic succession was, at least, equal to its own.

In the celebrated conference at Caerleon-on-Usk, in about A.D. 600, between St. Augustine, representing the

Papacy, and the seven Britannic bishops, representing the ancient Britannic Church, the Britons repudiated with scorn the claims made on behalf of the Pope by his delegate or legate to assume authority over the Church in Wales.

One might have expected this historical fact would have been quite sufficient to prove that the alleged communications between Lles (King Lucius)—son of Coel, grandson of Linus or Cyllin, son of Caractacus, and brother of Eurgan-Claudia Rufina—and Pope Eleutherius, in A.D. 169, was an impudent forgery: for if that correspondence were true, the Pope had only to issue his mandate to Wales, ordering, and not soliciting, as St. Augustine did at the conferences at Caerleon-on-Usk.

The following were the Episcopal dioceses of Wales, which sent their prelates to the second conference with St. Augustine, at Caerleon-on-Usk, which, being between the Usk River and the Wye River, the inhabitants are called Wiccii by the Venerable Bede: Hereford (Caer Fawydd), Llandaff, Llanbadarn Vawr, Bangor (Tewdrig—Llan Major), St. Asaph, Wick (Y Wig), and Margam.

It is pointed out that the only one of the bishops mentioned by name is Dynawd; therefore he was the archbishop and principal speaker with St. Augustine on the occasion. (Iolo MSS., p. 548.)

It is inferred that Archbishop Dynawd—but called Dinoot Abbas by Bede—was from Bangor Iscoed, simply because it is recorded one of that name was Abbot of Bangor Iscoed, Flintshire, at the time of the massacre there by the Saxon King Ethelvrith, about A.D. 607 and battle of Chester.

But he was an abbot, and therefore it is doubtful whether he could have been Archbishop of Bangor Iscoed as well.

But what seems to prove conclusively that it is Bangor Tewdrig, or Llantwit Major, is meant, is that near that interesting locality are two churches dedicated to Dynawd, namely, Llandynawd Vawr, or Great Llan-Donats, and Welsh St. Donats; the first, west of Bangor Tewdrig, pre-

viously Bangor Eurgan, and the last, east of the same locality.

The name "Welsh" St. Donats takes us back to those early days of Norman aggression in Glamorgan when one parish would be subject to the customs of Anglia and another those of Wallia.

St. Donats, to the west of Llantwit Major, being in the hands of the Norman, Sir William d'Easterling—for he is said to have been the lord of Llan'weryd, a name which Llandynawd overlaps, a certain proof Llan'weryd—a name given to it by Caractacus and meaning the "Holy Place of the Meeting of the Saved" (from the Roman captivity under Claudius Cæsar and Nero Cæsar)—was mentioned down to Norman times as being in Glamorgan, and after A.D. 1088, as under the feudal laws of the Normans from England.

These bits of signs of aggression in Glamorgan are evidences how difficult was the task the Glamorgan Normans were engaged in against the heroic natives.

Illyd's name, which is introduced in pages 288, 293, and 313 of *Liber Landavensis*, is placed there cunningly for the deliberate purpose of deceiving, by giving an air of truth to the great forgery perpetrated by the great enemies of the ancient Church surviving in Wales. Other historical names are found introduced into the book for the same purpose.

It is palpable to every one who has studied the subject that the *Liber Landavensis* came into its present arrangement as follows: When the Norman-French had assumed Glamorgan civil authority there, that authority opened the gates to admit after them from the Continent through England, the Papal monks, and they became supreme at Llandaff, to the annoyance and disgust of the old order of native clergy occupying the churches of Glamorgan. At Llandaff the foreign monks found many separate parchments, sheets with pendant seals attached, as title-deeds to many landed gifts to the old Church, apart from the Church of Rome.

King Edgar was the mere tool of Archbishop Dunstan,

of Canterbury, and in his time Llandaff received several Bulls from the Pope of Rome; but they were merely laughed at by the native clergy, over whom the Pope exercised no real authority before A.D. 1148.

But touching the land grants, the old native clergy had taken care to preserve the title-deeds in the chapter house of Llandaff. But now the foreign monks proceeded in a business-like manner to number in pages the old grants and frame a single volume of them. That volume continued to be the standard of the legal title-deeds to the estates of the Church in the diocese of Llandaff down to the Reformation in A.D. 1535. Then ducks and drakes were made of the title-deeds there and also at Margam Abbey. A selection of the latter (translated) has just been published by Miss Talbot, Margam Abbey, revealing many marvellous gifts made in the olden time to the Church of Llandaff and Margam Abbey respectively. It appears that most of the grants of lands to Pendar Monastery, Aberdare, were made before that monastery was shifted to Margam. Pendar was on the Dar River at a place now called Plas Draw, having near it a "mardy," or monastic farm-bailiff's residence, as Mardy signifies in the vernacular Welsh. This Mardy is now the residence of Sir William Thomas Lewis, Baronet, Lord Bute's chief agent. Judging by the old parchment deeds at Margam, nearly the whole of the farms in the adjacent parish of Llanwyno, to the west of Aberdare, had been absorbed by the Pendar Monastery, and afterwards they became the property of Margam Abbey, near the sea coast, in the southern part of Glamorgan. Judging by the name of a monk on the said deeds, one Brother Meilor, who is styled Awenyth or "Minstrel Bard," was the procurator of those pious bequests to Pendar Monastery. A little before the death of Earl Robert Fitzroy in A.D. 1147, Margam, one of the ancient homes of the Kings of Glamorgan, had been prepared for the reception of the monkish brotherhood from Pendar. It appears that at the time Margam was being prepared, Earl Robert Fitzroy built a small monastery a few miles above the Taff River in the said parish, and a nunnery on the top

of the sloping green fields facing the Taff River, now flowing through the town of Pontypridd, then a small village, and called by a Welsh name, meaning in English Taff-Ford. Both small monastery and nunnery, as regards sites, are now called "Monachdy" and "Gelli-Monaches." Both are north of Pontypridd. Margam Abbey was a national institution, the small one in the said parish was for local ministerial services. We know that the well-known revolt of Ivor Bach, a local inland Welsh lord, recorded in 1188 by Giraldus Cambrensis, against Earl William, son of Earl Robert, Ivor's feudal lord, was due to an attempt to transfer Ivor's son Gruffyth's (recently deceased) lands between Pontypridd and Ystrad Vach, now Ystrad Y Mynach, to the uses of Margam Abbey. We know where the ancient gifts to Margam Abbey by pious donors went to after the Reformation in 1535.

When the emissaries of the Papal Church came to edit the ancient parchments of Llandaff Cathedral, they linked them together in a regular narrative form; but to each story a fictitious introduction was penned by the tonsured editors, and all were by them arranged in order to suit the incidents of the originals.

Any one scrutinising the place-names in the diocese which the editors struggled with, the original names being Welsh, would see that the editors had made a laughable hash of the entire business, because their knowledge of the native tongue was very imperfect. This and similar acts have largely muddled the true history of Wales ever since.

It appears the same hands which penned the fabulous introductions, penned also the interesting romances, full of credulity of a monastic nature, called "The Lives of the Cambro-British Saints," the originals of which are still at the British Museum; others are at Jesus College, Oxford; others at Hengwrt, near Dolgelley.

It is almost certain the principal of those editors was Geoffrey, who resided at Llandaff, and to whom, for some unknown reason, has been added the name "of Monmouth." One suspects that the "of Monmouth" was deliberately placed in order to mislead the sharp-witted literati of "Tir

yr Iarll," or Mid Glamorgan, as to who was responsible for the fabrications so easily exposed in those days.

Geffrey "died in his own house at Llandaff" in A.D. 1153, as said before, while he was bishop-designate of that See.

It is easily seen, even now, by a Welsh bard of the Chair of Glamorgan, that the fountain from which Geffrey drew his romantic supplies was Druidic mythology. It is to be ever deplored that such an intellect as Geffrey's did not engage in deciphering the meanings of those poetical legends of past worthies of Britain. It is interesting to speculate as to the period when Geffrey commenced his religious romances.

It was after Robert Fitzroy became Earl of Gloucester. He did not attain to that dignity until after Lady Mably Fitzhamon became Lady Glamorgan, which was after the death of her father in A.D. 1107. Fitzhamon had been Lord Paramount of Glamorgan during nineteen years, from 1088 to 1107.

We learn from Welsh records that Earl Robert Fitzroy was born in the Lion Tower, Cardiff Castle, in either 1089 or 1090; therefore, at Fitzhamon's death, he was eighteen or nineteen years of age. We do not find it stated that Lady Mably Fitzhamon was born at Cardiff Castle; therefore, we infer she was a few years the senior of Earl Robert Fitzroy.

The match between them was brought about by Henry I., Earl Robert's father. Robert of Gloucester and Peter Longtoft have given us in ancient verse the manner the king brought it about in conversation with the gentle Lady Mably Fitzhamon. We modernise the words and the spelling:—

" 'Sire,' she said, 'I fear your heart upon me is,
More for my heritage than for myself;
And such a heritage I have
That it would be to me a shame
To take a Lord who has no surname.'
'Lady,' said the King, 'thou sayest well in this case:
Sir Robert Fitz-Hamon, thy own father was:
As fair a name thou shalt have, as you shall see—
Sir Robert Fitz-Roy shall his name be.'

‘Nay,’ said Mably, ‘what name should our children bear?’
 ‘Lady,’ said the King, ‘thy Lord shall have a name
 For himself and his fair heirs, without any flaw,
 For it will be Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and his heirs too.’
 ‘In that form,’ said she, ‘I grant that all mine shall be his.’”

The reader will observe that the king good-humouredly hints to Mably that her own father, Fitzhamon, was of the bar sinister, as Robert was.

The following is how Giraldus himself ridicules the forgeries of Geffrey ab Arthur, or “of Monmouth.” “The name of Wales,” states he, “was not derived from Wallo, a general, or Wandolena, the queen, as the fabulous history of Geffrey Arthurius falsely maintains.”

Giraldus, mockingly imitating the inventions of Geffrey, writes as follows: “There was a certain male witch, named Melerius, of Caerleon-on-Usk. On a copy of St. John’s Gospel being placed on his chest, the unclean spirits left him; but on a copy of the *History of the Britons*, by Geffrey Arthur, being placed on his bosom, *the evil spirits returned in larger numbers*” (pp. 53, 165: Dent).

We know Geffrey’s book alluded to was published in 1138. Giraldus wrote in 1188.

CHAPTER XIII

GEFFREY OF LLANDAFF'S METHODS ILLUSTRATED

IT is certain that Geffrey of Llandaff and Walter de Mapes had mastered the literary remains of Wales, both written and in traditions, preserved among the descendants of the Druids in Wales. They regarded them as great piles of brilliant ruins that had served their day, but which henceforth, now that the Christian revelation had dawned from heaven upon mankind, were no longer to be taken seriously. But men of their culture could not but be fascinated and charmed by many a poetical image which had shone out of the minds of the good religious bards of old. They had been set forth by the Druids by hieroglyphs, carved on wood and called Ar-Wyddion, and by sermons unknown ages before any alphabet had been yet invented, nor the Rossetta Stone, sculptured in the signs of three languages. In those mines of the "ruins of time" both Geffrey and Walter worked diligently, and what they picked up and scholarly set out, astonished and delighted literary Europe. A later scholar to dig in the same ruins was Sir Thomas Malory, and the results were given out in his *Mort d'Arthur*, in the reign of Edward III. and the Black Prince of Wales (1340, &c.).

We gather from the Welsh versions as follows: The earth has been gradually built up by means of an essence or protoplasm brought from across the sea, from a world unknown, in a sacred Shrine-Ship, which had neither oars, masts, nor sails (Llong Voel), but was propelled by an invisible Queen Spirit, whose voice was sometimes heard in the timber of its structure. The Shrine-Ship (Argo, Thebet, &c.) was in the first act of the creation of the world stationed on the ocean, in the centre of the surface of the ocean.

Then intense divine heat, symbolised by a serpent entwined around an egg, was applied to the bottom of the Shrine-Ship, and the solid essence began to boil and melt, and its rich fumes ascended into the atmosphere in circles, and thus a circle was placed on the face of the deep.

That was the foundation of the earth (Proverbs viii. 27).

The same Shrine-Ship had never, as was supposed, ceased since to travel to and fro, and at the approach of springtime; each year it comes and enters a great subterranean cave, and, stopping underneath the centre of the earth, the same divine heat is annually applied, and the same rich, steaming protoplasm results follow. Stonehenge is the principal emblem of that great cave in Britain. The gigantic columns there are symbols of those supposed to be upholding the earth over it. The oval form, called now the "ellipse," within it, is the emblem of the cauldron-shrine-ship.¹ The Crescent Moon in the sky was its emblem; the crescent is still in Welsh called "The Image" (y Llun). A horse-shoe as a symbol of good luck originated from this (Rev. xii. 1, 2).

The Shrine-Ship, when supposed to be in a condition of agitation by the heat, was named Pair Ceridwen, or "Melting Cauldron of Keridwen," one of her attributive titles—there are four titles—given to the invisible spirit aforesaid, called Queen of Heaven (Jeremiah xlv. 17-25).

The ancients attributed each earthquake to Good and Evil in conflict below. The expression, "Berwi Pair Ceridwen," or the boiling (in spring) of Ceridwen's Cauldron, is still a very familiar expression among Welsh bards.

The Spirit Queen was symbolised by a Golden Serpent; the Evil Spirit, always on the watch for the purpose of thwarting the operations directed to create, was symbolised by a Red Serpent or Dragon.²

The two often, as was supposed, fought, and it appears

¹ Dr. Stukeley noticed that the columns and the transverse stones lying upon them are all formed as if to uphold something, but that the temple was always roofless.

² *Vide* Revelation, chap. xii.

that the Druids were inclined to suppose that earthquakes were caused by the awful conflicts below between the two rival dragons, Good and Evil.

Out of this legend Geoffrey has invented the story about King Vortigern's castle on Mount Snowdon, and that, on being guided by the wisdom of Merlin, of Caermarthen, a shaft was sunk and a "pond"—cunningly the cauldron is omitted here—discovered, and underneath it a hollow, and in it two serpents asleep in stone kennels. (*Six Old English Chronicles*, Bohn's, p. 194.)

THE YOUTH WHO NEVER HAD A FATHER

While Vortigern was in great vexation respecting the fall at night of the walls of the intended castle on Eryri (Snowdon) after being built by day, he consulted his magicians as to the cause.

They being unable to account for it, gave what they supposed an impossible mode of removing the cause of the disturbance of the foundations, and they adopted an ingenious way to save their credit as seers.

"Get," they said to the king, "a youth who never had a father, and smear the mortar with his blood."

A mission was sent through Wales, and at Caermarthen, or "Merlin's Circle" (the Sun), a youth who never had had a father was discovered, and on being taken to Snowdon to the king, he made a revelation to the said king. The town has been ever since named Merlin's Circle (Caer).

Geoffrey describes King Vortigern's discussion with a Welsh philosopher as to—Was it possible for a child to come into existence without having had a father? Geoffrey was a classical scholar, and he represents the philosopher answering as follows: "Apuleius informs us in his book concerning the demon associate of Socrates, that between the moon and the earth dwell those spirits which we call Incubuses. Those are of nature partly men and partly angels, and whenever they please they assume human shapes and lie with women. Perhaps one of them appeared to the mother of Merlin" (p. 193).

In the original Kimmric, Merlin is Merddyn in Welsh,

pronounced Merthyn. It signifies "Lofty One from the Mer," or the sea, one of the titles of the sun personified. In the legends of the Druids each year's sun was born a Mabyn (boy) at the beginning of each solar year. This is the legend which is the basis of this fable. So universal was this belief that other tales by Geoffrey came to be designated Mabyn-ogion, or the "Solar Boy Stories."

This story was delightful to Giraldus Cambrensis, and in A.D. 1188, in his *Itinerary*, he, copying Geoffrey, states that Merddyn, of Caer Merddyn (Merlin), "was begotten by an Incubus on a woman." Superstitious Giraldus, in the same work, ridicules the fables of Geoffrey, but this story was in his eyes good enough to be true (*Itinerary*, chap. x.).

But this story was in Britain before the coming of the Romans in A.D. 43, for in the Roman Survey, extended to Wales about A.D. 78, Caermarthen is named Muridunum, clearly a corruption of the Hill (Din) Circle of Merlin.

The early Greeks were evidently much impressed by the Druido-Chaldean theory to the effect that the passive essence, called by Huxley protoplasm, was exhaled from a great Arkite Shrine, as stated above, and disseminated through the porous earth into seeds and roots, there to meet the fertilising rays of the sun, causing fermentation and developments in all directions.

With that vanity so characteristic of the earliest Greeks, they reported that the exhalations came up in Greece through a crevice on the southern base of Mount Parnassus! The Arkite Shrine being the material instrument of the Queen Spirit of Heaven for propagation, the Greeks called it Delphos, or the "Womb of the Mother of Nature."

Astride of that crevice they constructed a tripod, shaped like a Druid's cromlech. The Greeks constructed a basin-seat on the meeting points of the tripod, and surrounded it with laurel bushes. On that seat they placed a young priestess, whose official name was Pythonissa. She, like Nature, officiated perfectly naked, and the laurel bushes were doubtless used as a screen to hide her person. She represented Nature. It was pretended that the exhalation ascending from the crevice inspired her with oracular

wisdom and foresight, enabling her to prophesy and foretell future events.

Now all this was an imitation of Stonehenge, which the Britons designated the "Circle of the Giantess" (Cor-y-Gawres), meaning the "Queen of Heaven." But while the Druids of Hyperborea simply exhibited emblems of the cave, Arkite Shrine, and an obelisk with a half-circular groove in it—it is still there, but broken into two pieces—to symbolise the transmission of the active essence coming down from the sun into the passive essence in the shrine-ship, the Greeks used the crevice as a symbol of the lips of the vulva of the Delphos, and represented the exhalation as the imparted afflatus, "wisdom of the Serpent," meaning that of the Goddess herself.¹

In very ancient times, it appears to have been well known to other nations that the teachings of Delphi were simply the hashed-up teachings of Stonehenge. This the Greeks could not deny, and they admitted it, and asserted it was the Hyperboreans (Britons) who had established it originally.

"Boeo," states Archbishop Potter, Canterbury, "a Delphian lady, in one of her hymns, reports that Olen (Alawn), with the Hyperboreans, first instituted the Oracle of Delphi, which returned answers in heroic verse, of which he was the first inventor. Her words we find in Pausanias's 'Phocis':—

"Where Hyperboreaus to thy lasting praise
Eternal oracles did consecrate.'

"No Grecian yet warm'd with poetic fire,
Could fit the unpolished language to the lyre,
Till the first priest of Phœbus, Olen, rose,
And changed for smoother verse their stunning prose.'"

—Potter's *Antiquities of Greece*, vol. i. p. 325.

¹ Archbishop Potter states it was asserted by the ancient Greeks that the dragon herself appeared occasionally below, in the slit in the rock beneath the Tripod. She had been known to come up and roll herself around the legs of the Tripod, and herself give answers instead of Apollo (*Grecian Antiquities*, vol. i., 327). The reader will remember the great Dragon-Serpent of Avebury. Its Kimmerian name was Kyn-Nydd, pronounced Kin-Nith, hence the river there, running parallel with the track of the Dragon-Serpent, is still called Kennet. The name is a title of the Queen of Heaven, and meaning "The Earliest Wheel Turner."

CHAPTER XIV

ARTHUR AND HIS KNIGHTS OF THE ROUND TABLE— THE RETURN FROM INSULÆ POMORUM—THE APPLES ISLAND, FAIRYLAND

It is impossible to set forth a correct history of Wales without touching upon the earlier religion of the country, viz. Druidism. It would be like attempting to write a history of the Jews without any reference to the Bible.

It will be seen by the foregoing that the early Christians in Britain had observed the similarity of the Druidic order, and the outlines of the Christian system of religion, in its scientific arrangements.

Christianity in its earliest Apostolic plan is based upon that of the Old Testament with its Forty, Seventy, Seven, Twelve, Three, and One, viz. Jesus and His twelve apostles and Himself ; Seven Men of Good Report ; and Seven Good Spirits in the room of the Seven Evil ones expelled from Mary Magdalene ; the Forty Days in the Wilderness tempted of the Devil ; the three Marys and the three, Peter, James, and John, corresponding with Adam and his wife and three sons ; Noah and his wife and three sons, and their three wives, &c. Satan was in pursuit of the Name of El Shaddai, viz. the "Dove," and not of Jesus's humanity.

In Druidism we have the Twelve Knights of the Round Table and Arthur himself ; the Senate of Seventy, called Aesach in the vernacular ; the Twelve Jurymen, called Rhaithwyr, in the tongue of the Bards-Priests of Britain.

Then there were the Three Special Knights of the Order : Marchell, Kai, Bedwir, otherwise Plannydd, Alawn, Gwron, otherwise Nevydd, Nav, Neiv-Ion (Iona).

Then Three Ladies : Traul-Divevl, Gwen-y-Don, Tegau Eurvron. (Triad 54, *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 13.)

In Triad 59 those Three are one : Gwenwyver, Arthur's Consort (*Ibid.*, p. 14).

The same ladies are named sometimes "Dyvyr"-Wallt Euraid ; Enid, Tegau Eurvron ("Golden Breasted ?"), as "Ripe Cornfields" (Ceres), &c.

We believe the first name is a mistake for Dwvr (Mist), that the meaning is, "The Golden Haired of the Water" (Mist).

One of the aspects of the Chaldean arrangement of the like order is : Daniel, Shadrach, Mesach, and Abednego. Daniel's Divine Wisdom stands for the Word (Marduk), otherwise Christ in Jesus, as the father of his carnal body.

Gwenwyver stands in the same relative position to the rest as did the Daughter of Zion, Daughter of the Hittites, Daughter of Babylon, Daughter of Egypt, Daughter of Tyre, Daughter of Zur : all mentioned in the Old Testament. Arthur (Sun) is identical with Baal ; and Adonis with the Word of God. Hea Gadarn and Awen (one Elohim). Not the Most High (Ps. cx.).

An ancient Bardic proverb is as follows : Three things which no one can separate their colours ; the feathers of the peacock when its tail is expanded ; the colours of Tegau Eurvron's Mantle (the landscape) ; and the colours of a miser's monies.

The Church : One Gwenwyver and the Three Marys ; but Mary Magdalene is placed in the station occupied by Gwenwyver.

Llev-Velus (The Logos of Druidism).—This name, literally translated, signifies "Sweet Melodious Vociferation." It is like Hu Gadarn, or "Invincible Hu," pronounced *He*. It is the same as *Iu* in Iu-Pater (Jupiter).

In Bardism both Llev-Velus and Hu Gadarn are titles of the divinity which was supposed, like the soul within the head, is in the sun, regarded as a round head. The

name Hu Gadarn refers to the power of that divinity; Llev-Velus to his harmony, the rays of the sun being regarded as both his breathings and his vocalisation. It is stated that trees emit sweet tones in response to the rays of the sun striking them. This is like Memnon at Thebes.

Mrs. Hemans, in a letter to Sir Walter Scott, Bart., asks, had he observed the sweet tones of trees in the sunshine? which she says she had.

Thus Moses and Miriam, after ascending from the Red Sea, sang; Moses first; and Miriam second, echoing back the vocalisation of her brother (Ex. xv. 1-21). Thus Moses and Miriam play the parts of Llev-Velus and Gwen, the Venus of Druidism; and Moses like Osiris (sun); and Memnon responding; the latter is a goddess representation.

Coraniaid.—In *Brut Tysilio* and *Brut G. ap Arthur*, this name is spelt in two ways. In the first it is rendered Coraniait; in the second Koraneys, which would now be rendered Corényd.

The key to the meaning is the prefix Cor, a "Congregation." We have it in the affix Ban-Cor: the C is mutated to G, hence Ban-Gor, and meaning "High Congregation," either of worshippers or students.

The affixes, "aniait" and "aneys," both signify plurality. We have Kôr, or Côr, in an enclosure for sheep on a mountain or high place as Cor-Lan, a "Sheepfold." The earliest sacred places of the Druids, like the Hebrews, Persians, &c., were on the loftiest mountains, therefore Coryniaid would be an appropriate name for the Druid congregations on the high hills or crown of the hills.

In the Chronicles mentioned, the Cor-an-iaid are described as follows: "Cenedl, a elwit y Coraniait; a chymaint oed y gwybodau ac nat oed un ymadrod ac y cyfarffuai y gwynt ac ev, nas gwypynt hwy, ac wrth hyny, ni ellit drwc ydynt."

Translated verbatim: "A nation called the Coranians, so much was their wisdom, that no words that the winds encountered was unknown to them; so it was impossible to circumvent them."—Wireless invention?

According to the original, it was impossible to do them ill or harm. We have spelt the name Coryniaid, which signifies "Top ; the Head Ones" ; from Coryn, or Corona ; Sacerdotalis, Tonsura Clericalis.

Without venturing to say that Corona is from the Celtic Coryn, we simply say, Coryn in that language signifies "Top of the Head." Whether the Druids, like all ancient worshippers who regarded the sun as the chief representative of the invisible Most High in the universe, shaved the crown of the head in a circle, to represent the sun's disk, we cannot say ; but it seems highly probable they did.

If so, the name Cor-"an"-iaid is really Coryniaid, or the "Tonsured Druids."

But, in any case, whether in allusion to them gathered on high hills to worship, or to their tonsured crowns, the name is clearly in reference to the ancient Druids of Britain and France.

That they are called "cenedl" or nation, may mean a separate order, for tribes of the same nation were often anciently called nations. The word nation is from *natus* (to be born).

In the Scotch universities, students are divided into four "nations."

It seems the name Coryn is a compound of Cor (circle), and Dyn (man), which is, literally, Din (high) ; Gwr, like Vir, is the Welsh for man.

Echo.—In the Druidic religion, Echo (Diasspad) was a phenomenon which received worshipful attention.

Starting from the inference that all the voices of the earth were the echo of the voice of Him in the sun, they regarded every echo as an amplification of the same phenomenon. Therefore, their places of worship in the open air were each selected where there was a natural echo.

In the proclamation of the Gorsedd, otherwise the "Round Table," the Archdruid still vociferates at a certain part of the ceremony : "Gwaedd uwch Adwaedd ; Llev uwch Adlef" : "A shout above the Echo ; a loud cry above the reverberation." The last seems to mean a supplicatory

appeal, while the first seems to be a test for the purpose of ascertaining the presence of the echo in the place of assembly at the time.

The Greeks made nonsense of all this, as can be seen under the name "Echo" in the Rev. J. Lemprière's, D.D., *Classical Dictionary*, stating that Echo was the daughter of the Air and Earth; that she was once a fairy, but, talking too much, she was made unable to do more than answer questions. She fell in love with Narcissus, and being despised by him, she pined away, and was converted into a stone.

Insect Water.—Like all ancient religionists, the Druids employed water which had descended from the sky for lustration or consecration.

Dew appears to have been the favourite water for that purpose; and to this day, in Wales, it is popularly believed that washing the face at the dawn of May Day with dew is a certain cure for freckles of the skin.

According to tradition (Myfyr Morganwg), the Druids gathered dew into crescent-shaped vessels, miniature arks. Then at noon (awr anterth) those to be consecrated, dressed all in white, were placed with their faces towards the sun; then each priest with a birchen bough in his right hand, dipped the bough in the dew, and next scattered it in showers over the heads of the disciples; and that in every case a small arch-like nimbus of many colours would be seen over the head of each of the disciples, from the rays of the sun striking the mist arising from the scattered dew.

Dew is still called in Welsh Gwy-Lith.

Dr. Owen Pughe states that Llith means that which lures or draws to: it means really divine essence, and is still the name used in the Church of Wales for the first and second Lessons.

In farmyards all milk is metaphorically called "blith," which seems to be Ab-Lith, or the "Child of Lith." "Na thwng wrth Lith neb un," seems to mean, "Swear by no one's teaching."

It is highly probable that the following description of

the consecration, or christening, with dew applies to all ancient nations :—

“ Old Chorineus compassed thrice the crew,
And dipp'd an olive branch in holy dew,
Which thrice he sprinkled ; and thrice aloud
Invoked the spirits, and then dismiss'd the crowd.”

—*The Æneid*, cap. vi.

Now this consecration by dew among the Coryniaid, or Druids, came into direct conflict with the Christian christening, and both Tysilio and Geffrey of Llandaff introduce into the water of consecration among the Druids certain poisonous insects which annihilated all the Druids, whereas all the rest of the Britons, consecrated with Church water, pure and undefiled, lived on.

Dinas Emrys or Town of Ambrosia (Amesbury, Wilts).—We now come to a matter which places the epoch when both Tysilio and Geffrey wrote beyond doubt.

In the statement touching the measuring Britain for the purpose of discovering the centre of the circle, called “pervedd” by them, both state that Oxford was discovered to be that centre.

In the two *Bruts* the name given for Oxford is Rhydychen.

In all countries the centre was the centre of learning, which was supposed to radiate from it all around in all directions. Such was Jerusalem, Delphi, Thebes, Egypt, &c.

Now, it is well known that there was no seat of learning at Oxford before King Alfred established one there. He flourished from A.D. 871 to 901. We know that Geffrey died bishop-designate of Llandaff in A.D. 1153.

As for Tysilio, Iolo Morganwg states that the *Brut* bearing his name was written under that saint's name by somebody else later, between 1480 and 1490 !

Therefore the earlier one is that of Geffrey, or Jeffrey, of Llandaff, who unscrupulously used the ancient legends of Druidism for baseless narratives of the nature of “historical” romances, but of the utmost brilliancy.

We find unerring proofs that he used Bardic mytho-

logical personages, &c., and introduced them into his romances as real personages of flesh and blood. He seems to have determined the Britons should be lured away from the real Dinas Emrys, or the "City of the Ambrosia," now Amesbury, close to Stonehenge, and places it far enough from it, viz. in Eryri or Snowdonia (*Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. pp. 169, 170). See Lady Charlotte Guest's translation, May 1906, Dent's ed., p. 89. The Druidic circle was often called Llogell Byd, (Llôg-Gell Byd) or "Pocket Cell of the World's Treasures."

More Mysteries.—"The three ruddiest ones of the Isle of Britain: Run, son of Belinus; Lion, the son of Faith; and Morgan the Courteous (Glam.); and the ruddiest of all is Arthur (the Sun), because in him the three were absorbed" (*Myvyrian*, vol. ii. p. 13; Triad 24).

The like mystic teaching is attempted at Llandaff thus: God made for Teilaw three bodies—one at Llandaff, another at Llandeilo Vawr, near Aberystwyth, and the other at Tenby, and when Teilaw died his body was claimed by Llandaff, Pen Alun (now Penaley), and Llandeilo Vawr (*Liber Landavensis*, p. 353). (The sun on March 25, June 25, and Dec. 25.) (Sept. 25 was sacred to Nature, Virgo.)

Also Triad 44, *Myvyrian*, ii. p. 10. Three dead bodies of Teilaw appeared, and each of the above-named places had one.

The three Marys are made to correspond with Lady Trevel Divevl, Lady Gwen Madawg, and Lady Tegau Eurvron. They were absorbed in one, Gwenwyver (the World), the consort of King Arthur (the Sun), and associated with the twelve knights, like the twelve apostles.

The Druido-Christians saw in Marchell, Kai, and Bedwir correspondence with James, Peter, and John, and Jesus with Arthur.

In the "Dream of Macsen Wledig" (Clemens Maximus, King), to be seen in Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of the *Mabynogion*, we detect an attempt made to represent all Wales, instead of all Britain, to be the Circle of the Round Table (the Gorsedd, Cylch y Byd, or the "Earth's Emblematical Circumference"). Marchell is

stationed at Caernarvon, Kai at Caerleon-on-Usk, and Bedwir (Bedwyr) at Caermarthen.

Modred, the "nephew" of Arthur, is intended for Judas Iscariot.

The Church, as *navis* (a ship), is the same as the Rocking Stone in the centre of the Circle: sometimes a cromlech is used (*see* 1 Peter iii. 20, 21).

Sir Thomas Malory, a parson well up in the Druidic mysteries, places the three ladies of the Circle of Arthur's Court as follows: Gwen le Fai at Caerleon-on-Usk; the second in North Wales (Caernarvon); and the third, representing the earth in winter, therefore named "Queen of Desert Places," in the south-west (at Caermarthen).

Then he introduces Queen Gwenwyver (the corrected spelling), called also by that adroit Malory, Nimue, "Lady of the Lake" (the Ocean).

She is the goddess spirit of the universe on the ocean; and as Arthur absorbs the other three, so she, his consort, absorbs the three ladies, representations of the three primary elements operating through the earth from Gwenwyver's cave, whose emblem is Stonehenge, during the year.

Gwenwyver is their source, and into her they annually return.

Like Isis, in the Egyptian mythology, snatching from the Nile out of the reach of Typhon the Phallus, &c., of Osiris (the Sun), so Gwenwyver snatches the sword (Phallus), with haft decorated with precious "stones" (testes), from the "Lake," meaning the wrecked Sun's divine fertilising power is rescued.

Thus she preserves the emblematical instrument of next year's productions—the generating power of the Sun's tenant.

It must be clearly understood that it was supposed the Sun of each year was slain at noon on the shortest day by Satan; but that, after the lapse of forty hours, the divinity in the Arthur sun's orb or head returned in the south-east, clothed in a radiant new baby Arthur, hence our Mabyn or sun-child after whom the bards were called Mabynogion, a name which has puzzled people for many centuries.

Mabyn-Sant is our Mabsant, near churches, a survival of revelry, formerly held on New Year's morning, in order to welcome the advent of the Mabyn Sun, or Sonne, as it was formerly spelt in English.

An endless confusion has been caused by the many titles which the sun underwent among the ancient bard-priests of the Mabyn. That is aptly illustrated by the following: The Duke of Wellington's private secretary, once ordering a dinner for the duke alone, appended all the duke's titles to the order, and the result was thirty dinners were prepared for the duke, and he no doubt laughingly paid for them all.

According to St. Peter, the ark was for preserving the eight persons from the Water of Deluge: our Baptists go on their backs into it (1 Peter iii. 20, 21.)

Noah would have roared, for they place themselves in the same predicament as the antediluvians were, viz. *outside* the Arkite safety from drowning.

CHAPTER XV

BISHOP KENTIGERN, OF GLASGOW—ANOTHER IMPORTANT FRAUD

A CERTAIN king, we are told, "of the northern part of Britain," who was a pagan, had a very beautiful daughter. She, having frequently heard sermons, had received grace to believe in Christianity and to renounce idols. She was devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and prayed to become, after the manner she did, *enceinte*. At length she discovered herself with child—not by an Incubus, like the mother of Merlin.

Her royal father became furious with her, and charged her with unchastity. But she protested she knew not as to how her condition had been caused. She was by her father's orders taken to the summit of a mountain named Din-Pellder. This name is Welsh for a "Round Mountain Far Off."

It was ordered to hurl her from its top, in order that she might be dashed to pieces by the fall. She, with many sighs, went to what appeared to be death, but looked up towards heaven. The retainers of her pagan father did as directed, but, instead of falling, she slid gently from the summit into the vale below. She did not sustain a single bruise.

The retainers now carried her several miles to the ocean. There they placed her in a small boat made of leather and without oars.

Geffrey must have here been thinking of the drama of Taliesun, said to have been discovered in a leather or skin coracle at Borth, Cardigan Bay. The Mabynogion state

the coracle had been wafted from Ireland in the west: Arklow (or Archle, "Place of the Ark"). This implies the voyage must be understood as being made from the west below the earth to the eastern sky.

But the story of Kentigern goes on: Notwithstanding it had no oars, the small leather boat travelled with swift-ness, and eventually entered a creek on the other side of the ocean (Severn). There the fair princess castaway left the small leathern boat, and in a place called Collen Y Rhos gave birth to a son. The name of the place translated is "Hazel Plain." The Venerable Bede calls the place Colu-Dy or Colu House.

Between the town of Llantwit Major and the ocean is a strange-looking plain of something like one hundred yards wide, flanked by lofty green banks extending down to the sea, a distance of, say, half a mile in length. That plain is to this day called Colu Field or Gwaun Colu.

We resume the story. The next morning St. Servanus came upon the poor castaway, and beholding her desolate condition, cried out in Welsh, "O merch I! O merch I!" which, states the compiler of the narrative, signifies, "My daughter! my daughter! Blessed art thou that comest in the name of the Lord."

St. Servanus took both mother and baby under his care, nourished them, and baptized them, calling the young mother Thanen, and the child Kentigern (Kynteyrn), or the "First of Kings," but translated by Cressy in his *Church History* as meaning "Chief Lord."

The story proceeds. Kentigern was reared by St. Servanus, who loved him more than all his companions, and called him by the pet name Muncu, or the "Much Loved Kid," for that is the English for the Welsh name.

Cressy, while giving approximately the meaning, renders it "Munghu," and the Scots of the present day render St. Kentygern also St. "Mungo."

It would be more correct to render it Mungu, for in Welsh the letter *u* has the sound of long *e* only.

Every reader who has read the allegory of the birth of Taliesun, in the *Mabynogion* and elsewhere, is familiar with the story how the boy was discovered in a leather coracle in the weir of Gwydd Naw Garau Hir, at Borth, Cardigan Bay, not more than twelve miles north of Aberystwyth.

Ancient nations had very curious ideas about the sun, whom they fully believed was a divinity, and could see, hear, and inhale the earth's fragrance, and took the liveliest interest in the affairs on earth below.

Without entering further into the story, the Britons, in common with all other ancient nations, as already often stated, believed a baby son, or Sun, was born a royal baby, a fresh one every year, on its first day, and to those dwelling in Britain his first appearance on the first morning of the solar new year would appear as if rising up from the south-east seas, therefore to him was given as titles Mor-Gan (Sea-born), Mer-Ddyn, or the "Lofty One from the Mare," or ocean.

This last is the origin of Merlin, the diviner in Geoffrey, son of Arthur's Prophecies of Merlin!

The ancient Britons had an aquatic drama, performed in all parts of the Isle of Britain, on sea and inland lakes, depicting the journey of the baby Sun over the sea in a coracle.

The story of the perilous voyage of Thanen, Kentigern's mother, across the Severn in an open rudderless boat, the birth of her babe at Coludy, or Colu, near Llantwit Major, &c., is invented by the monk who purloined it from the story of cruel Acrisius, grandfather of Perseus, who, having heard from an oracle that Danae, his daughter, would be the mother of a son who would dethrone him—like Jupiter dethroning his father Saturn—when he discovered his daughter was *enceinte* by Praetus, his own brother, who took upon himself the surname Jupiter and married Danae, Acrisius discarded his daughter, and placed her on the sea in a crazy boat: this being driven by the winds, stopped near one of the Cyclades, in the Ægean Sea.

Here the mother and child were received by Polydectes, the king of that country. The baby's name was Perseus (H. North's *Heathen Mythology*, p. 319, &c.).

The birth of Kentigern is given as in the year 514, that he was the first Bishop of Glasgow, and that he died in A.D. 601.

CHAPTER XVI

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NATIVE MYTHOLOGY OF WALES

IT appears that the first to be struck with the idea of using the ancient Druids' allegorical legends for Christian uses was the Cambro-British monk Nennius, in the ninth century ; and it is probable Nennius's performances in that direction suggested the same course to Geffrey and Walter Mapes. Nennius represents Arthur fighting twelve battles with the Saxons—no more nor less—and that in the twelfth he was mortally wounded. This twelfth battle was fought at a place called Mount Bathon and Camlan. It is obvious that the plan which Nennius followed was the story of the Twelve Battles of Hercules, or the personified Sun fighting the Power of Darkness during the year, through the twelve months described by the twelve signs of the zodiac. We again repeat it was believed by the Druids that each successive sun was mortally wounded on each shortest day of the year, or, in the old astronomy, December 25th. This would be the tenth battle, or in the tenth sign, and the months and the constellations corresponded with each other originally. Later, the first battle was on March 25th one year, and the twelfth on the same date and month the following year.

Nennius appears to have adopted this rule by representing Arthur as mortally wounded on March 25th (ending the zodiacal year) instead of on the previous December 25th.

What is very remarkable is that the twelfth battle of Arthur, when he sustained his mortal hurt, is on the very day of the Crucifixion, Nisan 14th, which is March 25th.

In the time of Nennius, Bath, otherwise Caer-Bathon,

was still a pronounced Druidic city, which is proved by the fact that the Saxons named it *Acmen Castra*, or "City of the Men of the Oaks." Llansdown Mount is Mount Bathon of Nennius; and the Llan and Din in the composition of the name indicate unmistakably its great Druidic associations before, and probably down to, the time Nennius wrote in the ninth century.

Were it not so important, one would feel amused when witnessing the attempt made by Nennius to represent Britannia as the Blessed Virgin Mary!

It is known that each Briton called his round shield "Brydwen," or Britannia, because of its being a symbol of the world, as then its shape was supposed to be, and it was an isle in which Arthur dwelt, surrounded by the ocean; as also Homer describes the world as the shield of Achilles bordered by the sea:—

"Thus the broad shield complete, the artist crown'd
With his last hand, and poured the ocean round."

In living silver seem'd the waves to roll,
And beat the buckler's verge, and bound the whole.

—*The Iliad*, book xviii. (end).

"On his shoulder," states Nennius, "Arthur carried the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary." Each cromlech on a tripod implied the world as a shield, upheld by the echo of God's Voice. (Atlas: Adlais, Welsh for echo.)¹

The Rev. Thomas Price, Crickhowell, was the first to notice that Nennius was translating from the Welsh into Latin, and mistook "Ysgwyd" (*scutum* or a shield) for "Ysgwyth" (the shoulder).

Geffrey makes an attempt to correct Nennius by stating that the image of the Blessed Virgin was (engraved?) upon Arthur's shield, which was called Briwen or Britannia. "Humeris quoque suis, clypeum vocabulo, Priwen; in quo Imago Sanctæ Mariæ," &c.

As the forgeries which go under the name of Richard

¹ The Greeks have personified the Druidic Adlais (Echo), and have called the personification, Atlas, upholding the world upon his shoulders. See Hebrews i. 3.

of Cirencester have polluted the early history of England, so the fables of Nennius have vitiated the history of Wales, even the sober Triads have been stained by them.

The Venerable Bede or Beda, who wrote about a century before Nennius, does not even mention the name of Arthur at all. He did not know Welsh or its legends, and to get into touch with the allegories, touching the personified Sun and Earth in Druidism, it was necessary to be master of both. But we discover by his errors that Nennius was, though imperfectly, acquainted with the language of the Druids, by his mistaking "Ysgwyd" (a shield) for "Ysgwyδ" (a shoulder).

CHAPTER XVII

COLLUSION OF TWO CREEDS

THERE were so many coincidences between Druidism and the scientific foundation of Christianity, that the Druids in the first ages of Christianity seem to have adopted almost *en masse* Christianity as their own ancient religion.¹

To the Saviour the Druids actually, after lopping off the first half of the name—*i.e.* Tal or Tall—applied to him half of the name Tal-Iesun; but when the Bible was translated by Bishop Morgan in A.D. 1588 into the old Cambro-British tongue, the terminal “n” was for the first time dropped, and it was given now as “Iesu,” *i.e.* “Iesi.” Then Arthur, otherwise Taliesun, and his twelve knights, presented an aspect so much like the Saviour and his twelve Apostles seated at table in the upper chamber, with a bowl full of a mixture called Charoteth, made of dates and figs—now made of chestnuts and apples—which was so much like the “Rhin Gwybodau” (source of understanding) of the Druids, and meaning Ambrosia²—essence of eatables and drinkables, as basis of life—that some of the fraternity to which Nennius belonged, invented the story of the Greal, as the dish of the Last Supper itself, brought to Glastonbury by Joseph of Arimathea!

And, finally, the sacred circle of the Druids was called a “Table”—a “Round” Table.

They could not describe it as in any other shape; but the obvious intention was to convey it was in memory of the holy table of the Last Supper.

The coincidences are so striking that some foreign

¹ See Amos ix. 11; Acts xv. 16, 17. “David” in those passages is evidently “Dovid” (Dovydd).

² *Salus* and *Vita*—*anglice*, Indestructible Life (Carthage).

scholars in the nineteenth century designated the whole Druidic system, as at present represented, as New Druidism, based upon the early basis of Christianity! They might with equal absurdity allege the sun and twelve signs of Zodiac were "new." There was a bowl full of the appetising mixture on every Jewish table in every house where the first act of the Passover was performed, called mistakenly the "Preparation" of the Passover, instead of correctly, the "Introduction" of the Passover. It appears as if the Britannic Druids were persuaded to regard their own ceremonial dish of Rhin y Pumwydd as the type and the dish of the Jews as the antitype of it. This must have been the great theme of sermons, alas, unrecorded learned discourses of Ilid-St. Paul during his seven years' sojourn in the utmost bounds of Western Britain, from A.D. 61 to 68, as the royal guest of the Archon, King Bran the Blessed in Glamorgan. See Archbishop Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, chap. i. p. 40.

During those seven years—a period mentioned by Godeau, and confirmed by the Royal Annals of Glamorgan—Christianity found acceptance there where the Roman Legions had failed to conquer!

There were other remarkable features in Druidism, which were most perplexing to earnest and enlightened students, the principal being Hu Gadarn (Hea the Invincible), and Awen, or "Holy Wings," for the initial A (V) is a hierogram signifying an open pair of wings. To this day two wings flying are named A-Daen (edig), the last-named acting spiritually, the first-named materially by rays from the sun. Those correspond with the Eros and Psyche of Greek mythology. In the ancient records of Wales, it is said the Kimmerians came from Asia Minor to Britain under the leadership of Hu the Invincible, meaning the "Sun's Tenant."—Ps. xix. 5 (LXX.).

CHAPTER XVIII

THE KINGS OF SILURIA

HAVING at length dealt with "Arthur and his Court," we now return to the catalogue of the Kings of Siluria. It is a curious circumstance, and confirming the correctness of the inference that the Romans found it wiser policy to abandon Siluria and its government, on some unknown conditions, rather than continue to provoke Silurian hostilities, that we find that Siluria continued to have its own native rulers during the whole time of the Roman occupation of England, and some parts of Wales, that we have an unbroken list of the Silurian native kings during the whole of the 366 years the Romans were in Britain, that is to say, from A.D. 43 to 409.

We repeat, it seems certain that Siluria, or at least that part of it west of the river Wye, is what Tertullian¹ mentions, when, between A.D. 193 and 220, he asserts that a part of Britain, which was inaccessible to the armies of Rome, had accepted the Gospel of Christ.

The only other parts of Britain the Romans had failed to conquer were the Highlands of Scotland, but we do not find the Gospel had then penetrated there, but all history focuses its testimony to the effect that the Gospel had been accepted in Siluria, and that part of it where King Bran the Blessed's family resided. It was also the home of Caractacus, who seems to have become a favourite of the Roman people.

Perhaps that on Caractacus, having his parole extended to his father Bran's petty kingdom, he—because he could not do otherwise—agreed to withhold the Silurians from conflict with the Romans. This accounts for Caractacus's

¹ Of Carthage.

inactivity after his return home. Possibly this agreement with Caractacus was the origin of the continued isolation of Siluria, otherwise Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, from all other parts of Wales, in all the subsequent struggles with the Saxons and Normans, till its final conditional subjection to Sir Robert Fitzhamon in from 1088 to 1094.

In A.D. 1088 not a single other part of Wales lifted up a finger to prevent such a catastrophe! The celebrated historian Caradoc of Llancarvan, in *circa* A.D. 1150—he is supposed to have died in A.D. 1157—states that to the continued refusal of Siluria to co-operate with the rest of Wales against the foreigner, was due that the Britons of Wales had not reconquered England.

The Archon, Bran the Blessed's principal royal home was Tre'r Groes, or "Home of the Cross," as still named, but the granary outside the Royal Park is still called Tre Bran, "Bran's Home." This seems to indicate that the great event of rearing the Cross of Christianity there caused so much stir and interest that the royal palace itself came to be known after it, to the almost total obliteration of the name of the king himself. That there was at one time a great Roman military station near Bran's Park is manifest by the local place-names there, namely, Tre-Lleng, or "Quarters of a Legion." On the mountain overlooking the royal palace are distinct traces of a Roman castrum, or camp, and the mountain road leading up to it still bears the Latin name, *Porta*, or to carry, or the way of the porters. As stated before, this interesting locality is situate between Cardiff and Bridgend, and about four miles from the last named.

King Taithvallt.—This king is said to have reigned in the early part of the fourth century, and was the father of the celebrated King Tewdrig, of Ty'n Teyrn (Tintern Abbey afterwards). The name signifies the "Path of Mallt," the Druidic Goddess of War, being one of her titles, the others being Annhras and Malen. But the name, if Taithvellt, signifies the "Path of the Thunderbolt."

He is described as a munificent, religious, wise, and heroic monarch.

He enacted a law, compelling all his subjects to con-

tribute for the support of religion, learning, and to defray the cost of repairing churches. He successfully resisted the inroads of the Saxons and the Gwythel-Vichti, or Picts, who were a mixed race, half-Irish and half-Scythians (Bowmen), who first settled in Caithness, as stated in *Bruts*.

In his declining years he delivered up his throne to Prince Tewdrig, his son.

Tewdrig.—In A.D. 420 the Gwythel-Vichti landed at Llantwit-Major. That town was then called Bangor Eurgan. It will be remembered Eurgan was the daughter of Caractacus, the celebrated Silurian general so highly extolled by the Roman historian Tacitus.

On her return home, assuming her original Welsh name, she brought with her twelve foreign teachers to teach her fellow-countrymen foreign learning, which then consisted of Greek philosophy and Roman laws (Iolo MSS.).

There is abundant reason to conclude Lady Eurgan, under the name Claudia (the feminine form of Claudius), was intimately acquainted with St. Paul, and it is she to whom the Apostle refers in 2 Timothy iv. 21; and that the others mentioned, with the exception of Pudens, were her fellow-exiles from Glamorgan; we believe that Eubulus was Caractacus, her father, who had adopted that name as his Latin one, because of its resemblance to the Welsh name Helbulus, meaning the "Greatly Afflicted."

As for Linus, he is her brother Cyllin, and the intimacy with the Apostles SS. Paul and Peter is confirmed by the Church records, wherein Linus is placed as the first Bishop of the Gentile Christians at Rome; and Clemens, the first Bishop of the Christian Jews there, after SS. Peter and Paul.

According to the annals of Glamorgan, Caractacus and his family resided at Aber Gwardewyr, now St. Donats Castle, near Llantwit Major. The old name signifies the "Meeting-Place of the Saved."

Meirig.—As already stated, Meirig succeeded his uncle, Tewdrig, about the year 470, on the throne of Gwent and Morganwg.

The name Meirig is from the original form, Meirchion, which signifies chief of "Equestrians" or "Knights." In

p. 384 of *Liber Landavensis*, it is intimated that Meirig was with his uncle and the Gwent and Morganwg army, when his uncle was mortally wounded.

The spot where that is said to have occurred was beyond Rhyd Gwy, or Wye Ford, near Tintern Abbey.

But this account is obviously a concoction drawn up from hazy tradition and perhaps obscure writings; for the story is there so embellished with the miraculous, in which the supernatural is a nonsensical feature, that only the bare outlines of narrative can be accepted as at all authentic.

In p. 288, *Ibid.*, we learn that King Meirig and Meirchion were *two* names for the same individual.

In p. 390 we find King Meirig in terribly hot water with the ecclesiastics of Llantwit Major.

It is stated he had slain one Cynveddw, a name signifying "First of Drunkards," and after that Meirig was two years in a state of excommunication, both he himself and his kingdom. Meirig repented, and in the presence of Abbot Cyngan, of Llancarvan; Abbot Cadgan, Llantwit Major, and Abbot of Llandoche, King Meirig consented for Bishop Oudoceus, Llandaff, to invest him with "the yoke of penance."

It is interesting to note what this king had endured during the said two years.

The ecclesiastics had laid "the crosses on the ground, together with the relics of the saints; the kingdom was debarred from baptism and Christian communion; the king and his family were cursed," the ecclesiastics repeating as follows:—

"May his days be few, may his children be orphans, and his wife a widow" (Ps. cix.).

The terrified king made to the See of Llandaff a present of four villages for withdrawing the ban from him and his kingdom.

Those were: Rhiwgraenawg, Nant Avan (Aberavan), and that beyond Nant Avan; "the place where the king's son had committed adultery"; and all commonage throughout the country to the persons who abode on those lands, in field and in wood, in pastures and in water.

We are further told that the village beyond Nant Avan, where the king's son had misconducted himself, was called Gwerberth (p. 391).

In the *History of the Cambro-British Saints*, the original in Latin MSS. at the British Museum, beginning at p. 158 in the printed copy of the volume, we read of great quarrels between King Meirig and Abbot Illtyd.

The king had a residence at Llantwit Major, and he seems to have much disliked Abbot Illtyd's assumptions.

Abbot Illtyd had to flee for his life from the king, and we are informed he hid himself in a cave, in what we infer was in the dingle of Pontallan,¹ west of St. Bride's Major, and between that village and Ewenny.

There, doubtless, he was stealthily supplied with the necessaries of life by his monks.

Here, again, the supernatural comes into use.

One day, while in his cave, he overheard the tinkling of a bell on the highway.

Perhaps it was the usual signal that supplies for him were there. He proceeded, however, disguised, and he there saw a messenger from Gildas, the historian, carrying a brazen bell for St. David as a present.

Illtyd touched the bell, and when the bell arrived at its destination in Menevia, the thing would not emit any sound at all.

No, not to please even St. David.

That worthy inquired, "Had any one touched it on the journey?" The messenger mentioned that it had been touched three times by a man.

Then St. David stated he knew Abbot Illtyd had desired that bell, and he directed the messenger to take the bell to Illtyd in the cave, "where he received visits of angels" (p. 488). We repeat, this bell is at present in the belfry of Llantwit Major town hall, and around it a scroll with the words, "Ora pro nobis, Illtuti," or, "Pray for us, Illtyd." As it rings the cry goes up still to Abbot Illtyd.

¹ Pont-y-Llan. (?)

It appears by p. 484 that the reason of Meirig's fury on that occasion was that Illtyd had at least connived at a murder at Llantwit Major.

The murdered man appears to have been an officer of the king's court.

He is named Superintendent Cyvlym, or "the Swift."

It is intimated the officer had "melted before a fire, because he had offended Illtyd."

He had evidently been burnt by order of Illtyd.

Then the story goes on to the effect that the king afterwards went to seek Illtyd at the head of his soldiers, intending to slay him and his clergy.

We have no space to give more of the quarrel between the king and Illtyd, the foreigner; and we give the above as throwing a light upon the cause why King Meirig established the rival Colleges of Llancarvan Abbey, a few miles east of Llantwit Major.

CHAPTER XIX

PATRIOTIC KING MEIRIG, LLANCARVAN, AND PRIEST PRINCIPAL ILLTYD, LLANTWIT MAJOR

Llancarvan.—Patriotic King Meirig, differing from his uncle, would have for his college a native Welshman, because in touch with the inner life of his fellow-countrymen. He selected for the post a princely son of Gwynllyw Vilwr of Gwent, otherwise co. Monmouth.

The Welsh scholar installed by him was Catwg Ddoeth, or "the Wise."

As it proved to be, no better selection could have been made. Great many of his eminently clever Welsh productions have come down to our own day, and one hundred pages of them can be seen now in the *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales*.

The high character and patriotic standard of Llancarvan are illustrated by the writings of one of its scholars, Caradoc of Llancarvan, in the time of Earl Robert of Gloucester, who was born about A.D. 1089 (*d.* 1147); a proof that, during about five centuries, Llancarvan had flourished with undimmed splendour, enlightening the people of Gwent and Morganwg with learning, and disseminating its native, as well as classic, learning throughout the country, in days long before Oxford and Cambridge had been established.

But as for Llantwit Major, the only thing remaining of its influence, as far as native culture is concerned, are old women's twaddles about miracles, angels flitting about the country. It was impossible for the king to avoid incurring great danger personally, owing to the ecclesiastical forces behind Illtyd.

King Tewdrig, his uncle, had endowed with immense wealth the university over whose fortunes Abbot Illtyd pre-

sided, and that the wealth had been placed beyond the reach of the civil power of Gwent and Morganwg; and the rule, "benefit of clergy," was like a fortress around its riches.

Even Sir Robert Fitzhamon, five centuries after Meirig, dared not secularise the Llantwit Major and Llancarvan sacred properties, but simply transfer them to Tewkesbury Abbey.

The endowments of both kings, Tewdrig and Meirig, together with their Church patronage, are now vested in the Chapter of Gloucester, to which Henry VIII. transferred them, and Abbot Wakeman, last Abbot of Tewkesbury, was made first Bishop of Gloucester at the Protestant Reformation in 1535.

Bishop Francis Godwin, Llandaff, found about A.D. 1615 the following record: When the Breton, Bishop Oudoceus, nephew of St. Teilaw, with the consent of the diocese of Llandaff (Godwin's, p. 516), came to it, about the beginning of the sixth century, "Meirig (the king), his queen, sons, all the nobility and clergy met him in procession, and, bringing him to the church, granted to him these privileges to be *sine consule*."

One of the king's sons, in that procession, representing Gwent and Morganwg, was Prince Athrwys, represented by Geoffrey, long centuries afterwards, as King Arthur of romance.

An attempt is made in *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, p. 330, to convey that Carvan—Llan-Carvan—means *carw*, a stag, from the alleged arrival there of two stags, which, at the sound of the uttering the name Jesus Christ, suddenly became docile, and submitted themselves to the task of drawing timber to build the Abbey of Llancarvan!

Of course the story on the face of it is laughable for its absurdity, but there are matters in the composition of the Romance which indicate that the writer was by no means himself under divine guidance, whatever about the miraculous stags.

In the original Latin text in the British Museum, and in p. 39 of the published work, the name is rendered Nant-

Caru-Guan (Gwan). This is intended for Nantcarw-gwan, or "Brook of a Weak Stag."

In the first place, the pious scribe is puzzled with the affix "van" in Llancar—"van," in the mutated word "man," meaning, in Welsh, "a place." He jumps to the conclusion it is from *gwan*, meaning "weak."

Then he falls foul of "Nant," and, mistaking it for "Pant," translates it "Valley," instead of, correctly, "Brook."

The alleged miraculous employment of two stags, both by Illtyd and Catwg, indicate unmistakably the influence which the old allegorical stories of the *Mabynogion* had exercised upon the mind of the literary Geffrey.

These ancient *Romances of the Cloisters* are efforts to produce tales based on Christianity, which, it was hoped, might prove as fascinating as the *Tales of the Mabynogion*, based on Druidic religious philosophy.

Readers of the *Tales of the Mabynogion* are familiar with their legends touching stags, boars (Twrch Trwyth), &c. It is evident, by the use of "The Hind of the Dawn of the Morning" in the heading to Psalm xxii., that the ancient Hebrews also adopted two stags as substitutes for the two he-goats of the Day of Atonement, as directed in Leviticus xvi. 4. Welsh billigoats were calculated to butt the priests!

In p. 337 of the same volume the scribe describes Illtyd as a disciple of Abbot Catwg, and therefore his subordinate.

This fact leads one to infer the *Life of St. Catwg* was composed in the cloisters of Llantwit Major, prior to the coming of the Normans to Glamorgan in A.D. 1088, and the subsequent suppression of both Llancarvan and Llanilltyd by Fitzhamon.

In p. 379 we find abundant indication of the close familiarity of the writer with the entire district around Llancarvan. In pp. 383 and 390 King Meirig is made contemporary with Catwg, and Illtyd was contemporary with both.

As showing the hazy notions of the writer, he in p. 383

makes Tewdrig to be the son of Meirig instead of his uncle.

It is recorded elsewhere, Meirig lived to be ninety years old, and doubtless he was buried in the church of Llancarvan before the altar there.

The earlier name of Catwg was Cadmael, or "Armour of War," but when he became an ecclesiastic, and Abbot of Llancarvan, he received the name Cad-awg (Preserver), one of the Druidic titles of Ceridwen (*Liber Landavensis*, p. 373).

We repeat, the name Dubricius or Dyvrig signifies "God's Topmost Branch." It implies the firmament under the figure of a tree "whose leaves heal the nations," and its topmost point the sun on the longest day of June. It is implied, too, by the topmost light of the seven golden candlesticks in the Temple of Jerusalem. Sometimes Llancarvan goes under the name of Llancadmael, Catwg's original name.

The forgeries were probably first started by the school of Illtyd for the detestable purpose of muddling Welsh history; for that history had in it two bugbears—namely, Druidism, so marvellously resembling Christianity, and the ancient Pauline Church of Britain then existing in Wales alone.

The fact is conclusively proved that Catwg was the first Abbot of Llancarvan, by the circumstance that the church there is dedicated to him. The forgers could not remove from it the name of its first patron saint, but they have placed in their books the mythical Dubricius first!

It is recorded that King Meirig "protected" both Llandaff and Llancarvan. We see in the foregoing why he did not do so also to Llantwit Major; there the "pious" roasted his officers when they could catch them! "Melted," the scribes describe the process!

We have an excellent view of the confusion in the history of Gwent and Morganwg, in the fact that their literary twaddles had induced some authors, who took as gospel the monastic legends, that King Meirig was also Uthr Bendragon the reputed father of the mythical King

Arthur of romance (*vide* Rees's *Essay on the Welsh Saints* pp. 176, 177, 184, 185).¹

On the top of a hill west of Cowbridge, near the Golden Mile, is a village called Pentre-Meirig. It is very probable that this great king had a residence there as well as in Llantwit Major, and in other localities.

To this day there is in Glamorgan, we repeat, a well-known proverb, viz. "Enw mawr yw Meirig." Meirig is a great name. Why? Because in the interest of his people and Welsh nationality he withstood the curses and purgatorial anathemas of Illtyd and all his followers, and founded Llancarvan, to be a nursery for Welsh scholarship, in addition to other branches of learning, secular and theological.

But if we can rely on the foregoing statement, quoted by Bishop Godwin, the old ecclesiastics of Llantwit Major, Llandaff, many years later, got him down on his knees, and induced him to make them a present, it is calculated, of 216 acres of fair Glamorgan, for pious uses, for procuring pardon from God, for him for killing, not the chief of sinners, but the chief of drunkards, who doubtless fell at the hands of one of the king's courtiers, and for whom Meirig himself stood responsible.

¹ "Ben" is the Phœnician for son, and "Dragon" for serpent: the Avebury emblem for the "Queen of Heaven"—"a spirit."

CHAPTER XX

ATHRWYS, CALLED ALSO ADRAS, AND ATHRUIS, AND "KING ARTHUR"

KING MEIRIG was succeeded on the throne of Glamorgan and Gwent by his son Prince Athrwys, called Arthur by the foreigners who came to Wales and proceeded to mix veritable history and personal characters with romances and the poetical personifications of Druidism. In the light showing the foundation of Llancarvan and Llanveithryn, Vale of Glamorgan, by King Meirig, it is highly interesting to discover that the name he gave at the font, doubtless Llan-Ail-Teyrn, Royal chapel of Ease, west of Cardiff, to his son and heir was Athrwys or "Summons to Learning"; Athr, "to Teach" and 'Wys, "a Summons."

Foreign scribes have altered that name to Athruis, Arthur, and Adras, if not also into Idris. One incident recorded of him is as follows: Athrwys made a grant of land to Llandaff Cathedral, and that the way he did it was as follows. He walked around his land gift, followed by an officiating priest, who sprinkled along the boundary line "dust from the sepulchre of St. Dubricius"—brought, of course, from Bardsey Island—the cross was carried in front. King Athrwys ("Arthur") carried the Gospel on his back at the ceremony and confirmed for ever the alms given for the repose of the soul of his late father King Meirig. The property is near the River Wye. (*Liber Landavensis*, p. 411.) Athrwys began to reign about the middle of the sixth century on the death of Meirig his father. The Rev. Rice Rees, M.A., shrewdly asks—Was Meirig Bendragon, the father of King Arthur?

KING ATHRWYS, QUEEN GWENORA, AND LORD MELWAS :
A TRAGIC LOVE AFFAIR OF GLAMORGAN

“Melwas, glas ei glôg” (“Melwas, green his mantle.”)

—DAFYTH AP GWILYM, A.D. 1400.

Llan-Ail-Teyrn (Lanilterne) is a Royal chapel of Ease, four or five miles west of Cardiff, on the highway between Cardiff and Llantrisant.

Pencoed Farmhouse, a hundred yards below the “chapel”—as it is still called by the parishioners—was the residence of King Athrwys and Queen Gwenora his wife. It appears she was a native of co. Perth, Scotland. Formerly a curious stone was built in one of the corners of the western gable, bearing the simple inscription : “Hic jacet Gwenora.” In the late restoration of the chapel, that stone was taken inside, and is now over the font in the northern wall. About the year 1822 this stone, which had been pointed out by the keen-eyed Iolo Morganwg, caused a flutter among antiquarians. It having been shrewdly inferred that King Athrwys was identical with the King Arthur of romance, it was read by some, influenced by the romance, that the name on the stone was Gwenwyver, one of the triune, wife of Arthur. But later scholars read it correctly as Gwenora, meaning “Best of Gwens.”

There is a tradition that Queen Gwenora had a scandalous intrigue with an old lover named Melwas; and a little distance west of the royal chapel is a farm known as Llwyn Melwas, or the “Bush of Melwas.” David ap Gwilym, Wales’ sweetest lyric poet, a great admirer of ladies, and himself a noted favourite with the fair sex, refers in one of his songs to “Melwas, glas ei glôg” (“Melwas, green his mantle.”)

It is stated that King Athrwys with his army were on the Wye opposing Saxon encroachments, and that Melwas and Queen Gwenora availed themselves of the opportunity to elope together to Scotland. It was in the month of May, the usual time, it will be remembered, of the year the

Britons of Wales went to war. One day Queen Gwenora told her Maids of Honour she would go a-Maying or gather flowers. She led the way to the Grove, since called Llwyn Melwas or the "Bush of Melwas."

While she and the maids were there a strange object, clad in green, leaped out of a bush, and the maids, thinking the object in green was a satyr or hobgoblin, ran shrieking, leaving Queen Gwenora to shift for herself. Of course the whole thing had been planned by the lovers. It appears it was fathomed by some others, doubtless some of King Athrwy's friends who saw the lovers going away, and information was soon transmitted to the king on the river Wye. He quickly ordered a hue-and-cry, and some time after, the poor erring queen was captured by bloodhounds and torn to pieces.

In Cressy's *Church History in Brittany*, book xi. chap. 3, we have a valuable illustration as to the manner the monks used incidents in the true history of Great Britain to bolster up their fabulous narratives which they had invented, associating King Arthur of the Druidic allegories touching the personified Sun, and associating him with Glastonbury.

"At this time" (A.D. 510), reports Cressy, as on an earlier authority, "Melvas, a British Prince, reigned in the Province of Somerset (in *Æstiva Regione*), called by the Britains Glad-ar-hav. This Melvas had stolln away Gwinivera, wife to King Arthur, concealing her in the Isle of Glastonbury, esteemed most secure, both for the fenny situation and Religion of the place. Hereupon King Arthur assembled a mighty army out of Cornwall and Devonshire (*Dibuenum*), and encompassed the Island. The two Kings being ready to a battel, the Abbot of Glastonbury, attended by St. Gildas and all the clergy, came between the two armies, and by perswasions induced Melvas to restore Queen Gwinevera to her husband. Which being performed, peace ensued, and both the Kings bestowed great immunities and possessions on the Monasteries."—Cressy, edition 1668.

We thus detect the pious defrauders !

It will be noticed as very curious that even at Meigle, Perth, Athrwys is called Arthur. There are Druidic stones near the place of capture, and doubtless the reason why Athrwys is in the legends mixed with the history of the Arthur of romance, operated also at Meigle, co. Perth.

The ancient parish church of the locality of Llan-Ail-Teyrn is some little distance east from the Chapel of Ease, which suggest the chapel was originally for the use of the Glamorgan and Gwent royal family alone. Local tradition at Meigle, where Sir Campbell-Bannerman, Prime Minister, was entombed (1908) with Lady Bannerman, is that Queen Gwenora was captured on a hill there called Stormouth. It appears by the Druidic remains in that locality, that the queen was then fleeing when captured, towards the Sanctuary of the local Stone Circle there, but was laid hold of by the bloodhounds before she entered the Buarth y Beirdd, where she would have been safe from molestation. Buarth Beirdd, hedd ein pobl oedd ("the Circle of the Bards was Peace (for Sanctuary) of our People"). The circular firmament is called by the old bards, Buarth Arthur ("the Circle Farmyard of the Bull Arthur"). The Taurine Sun. The stars are poetically said to be his heifers. Lyra is "Arthur's Harp." Ursa Major is his "Plough," &c.

On the author writing in 1906 to Sir Campbell-Bannerman, Belmont Castle, on the subject, he replied, that the stone and the strange figures upon it had always greatly interested him, but without discovering their import. The reverend gentleman in charge of the benefice replied to our inquiries as follows—it will be noticed the name of the victim in Llan-Ail-Teyrn and at Meigle is the same:—

Two Views of the Sides of the Stone.

"As to the stone itself, it stood for many years on a mound in the burying-place of Meigle, beside the pathway which leads to the parish church. Ultimately it, together with some other stones of a like antiquity, were safely housed in a hall enclosed within the bounds of the church.

The photographs enclosed are small, but with the help of a magnifying-glass you will be able to trace the carving upon them. Roughly speaking, on the one side there is a cross. In the middle are several figures with bodies of horses or camels, and the heads of serpents, on each side of which are wild beasts and the heads of serpents considerably impaired. On the reverse are mounted knights or horsemen setting out on a hunting or warlike expedition. Beneath these the figure of a woman attacked on all sides or perhaps fawned upon by animals.

"The tradition here respecting the stone is that it marked Venora or Gwenora's grave. The story concerning this queen, traditionary of course, is that she was put in captivity in Barryhill in Alyth¹ (neighbouring parish to Meigle) and ultimately torn to pieces by wild beasts. Boece, one of the earliest and most credulous of the Scottish historians, writes: 'All women that stampis on this sepulture shall be ay barrant, but ony fruit of their womb sichlike as Gwenora was.'

"Pennant, in his *Tour in Scotland*, mentions the stone. Jervise, in his *Sculptured Stones*, and Dr. Stewart, in a work of a like nature, treats of it. The stone itself is 8 feet long by 3 feet 3 inches broad, standing upright in a socket.

"This is about all the information I can give you, except that, a property adjoining Meigle, called Arthurstone, contains some strange monoliths, suggestive of a legendary connection of Arthur with the district.—I am, yours very truly,

HUGH CLIMIE."

It seems clear that her remains were interred at Llan-Ail-Teyrn Chapel, otherwise "Hic jacet Gwenora" or, "Here lies Gwenora," would not have been inscribed there. It appears also that the stone, in this Glamorgan chapel, is but a fragment of the original monument placed over her tomb about fourteen centuries ago. The stone at Meigle Church, and the traditional curse, must have been

¹ Alaeth: Welsh for "A Great Lamentation"



AN ERRING QUEEN OF GLAMORGAN'S MONUMENT IN SCOTLAND

(Obverse)



AN ERRING QUEEN OF GLAMORGAN'S MONUMENT IN SCOTLAND
(Reverse)

placed there originally on the mound mentioned, as a monument of the successful vengeance of King Athrwys of Wales, and also that the tradition is an echo of the view the inhabitants of Meigle entertained of Gwenora's liaison and elopement. We hear nothing more of Melwas, but his name is perpetuated as the name of the grove a short distance from King Athrwys's palace in Glamorgan.

CHAPTER XXI

THE BATTLE OF PARC COED MARCHION, CARDIFF: A RELIGIOUS FEUD TOUCHING EASTER BETWEEN SAXONS AND GLAMORGAN

A SHORT distance from Llan-Ail-Teyrn (Church of the Viceroy) is Parc Coed Meirchion, or of "The Knight of Knights."

Near it is Pencoed, Llan-Ail-Teyrn—not Pencoed Colwyn—and the royal chapel of ease of King Meirig, the said Knight of Knights.

Caradoc of Llancarvan, in the time of Earl Robert Fitzroy, Glamorgan and Gloucester, has in his Chronicle the following entry: "A.D. 755. Now the time for observing the season of Easter was changed in North Wales by the advice of Elvod, Bishop of Bangor; but the other bishops of Wales did not concur to this change. In consequence of that the Saxons invaded South Wales, where was fought the battle of Marchion's Woods. The Saxons were defeated overwhelmingly." The name "Dcheubarth" is the name here given to South Wales, but it is clearly a misnomer and erroneously made to apply to the present South Wales; an error occasionally met with in transcripts made by later copyists as interpolations. It is difficult for us moderns to realise why a question of date for observing a religious festival could result in war. But in those days Easter was held in Wales at the same date that the Hebrews observed their Easter, otherwise Pascha or Passover, otherwise Lent, and being the season when the Lord Jesus suffered it was regarded as of the most solemn import by the Roman Catholic Church and also by the Pauline Church of Britain surviving alone in Wales. It was intended as an expression of intense

sympathy with the Great Sufferer in what He had endured on behalf of mankind ; and all Christians inflicted acute sufferings upon themselves, as a token of their sincere sympathy with Him in what He had gone through. The Welsh called Lent Garwys, *i.e.* "Summons to Kneel" (Gar and Gwys), by penance and all kinds of bodily inflictions which could be devised by the pious.

The Jewish Pascha, or Lent, commenced on the night preceding Abib, otherwise Nisan 14th, and continued till the night preceding the 21st. Those were lunar nights, but (Abib 14) counted by the sun, March 25th.

As an indication of the adherence of the Welsh to the ancient Jewish time they, down to the present day, have no other names for the season than Y Pasc and Garwys ; they never use the names Easter, Passover, and Lent.

From the Welsh point of view the innovation and change sought by Bishop Elvod and the Saxon Christians to get Wales to adopt, would be tantamount to an admission that they had always observed Easter, their Pasc, and "Summons to Kneel," at the wrong season of the year. The proud Britons, who had been a continuous Church since the time of St. Paul-Ilid, would not tolerate for a moment such teachings, especially from their Saxon foes, who, until little more than a century before, were idolaters and heathens even in Kent. That, briefly, was the cause of the battle of Marchion's Woods.

Under the date A.D. 777 Caradoc of Llancarvan intimates that one Ferniol, after the foregoing defeat of the Saxons, attempted to impose the same change upon them. Evidently he was a hot-headed partisan in high authority in the diocese of Llandaff. His actions produced a revolution in the diocese, and in that revolution Ferniol seems to have been backed by a powerful party, for a great many people lost their lives, and Ferniol himself perished. In consequence of the bloodshed in that revolution, it is remembered in Glamorgan and Gwent annals as "the summer of bloodshed." The following conveys the intimation that Ferniol was a king or chieftain : "After that rebellion," states the said Caradoc, "no king's promise,

made on behalf of the country, was admitted to be sufficient guarantee of good faith." That further implies that Ferniol was a party to bring the Saxons to South Wales, and that after their defeat he had promised to leave things as they were until Bishop Elvod had sought to introduce reform of the calendar. It is conveyed that Ferniol was publicly executed for his treachery; for it is said, "Fe a orvy arnynt ladd Ferniol," "they were compelled to execute Ferniol."

"Bedd yn y Gorfynydd a luniaf ai liw osod :
Bedd Ferniol Hael, mab Hulwyd."¹

—"The grave on the high mountain I'll picture and its colours: the grave of Ferniol the Generous, son of Hu-Lwyd" (son of Hu the Holy). Hulwyd means "Holy Hea," apparently an adjectival title. "Hu" is a divine title ("The Graves of Warriors," p. 65; *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*: ed. 1870).

Near Treherbert, Rhondda Valley, is a mountain declivity, a mile or so in length, called Cefn Cad Ferniol, or the "Ridge of Ferniol's Battle." In another work we stated what was our impression formerly, viz. that the name was derived from Latin. But we now see every reason to conclude the name is "Ferniol," and that it marks the final scene of the rebellion against King Ferniol in A.D. 777 and probably of his death. The place is at present called "Fernhill" by the proprietors of a colliery upon it.

A.D. 809 Elvod, Bishop of Bangor, died, and an eclipse of the sun took place. It seems as if Caradoc associated the two events together in some mysterious fashion: that the eclipse implied Divine displeasure with Elvod! Further, it is said that all this time there had been great excitement among churchmen, because the Bishops of Llandaff and Menevia would not acknowledge the ascendancy of the Bishop of Bangor touching Easter, their own Sees being more ancient.

Warrington intimates that Elvod had been appointed to

¹ "Ferniol Hael" is "generous Ferniol," an expression indicating that the lives were preserved by a monk who favoured the attempted change. Hu Lwyd means Holy Hu.

Bangor by the Pope of Rome, and that that induced him to attempt to bring the Church of Wales into line with the Latin Church as to the proper time of observing Easter according to the Papacy. In his *Horæ Britannicæ* Hughes states that, about A.D. 842, Cambro-British clergymen visited Constantinople to inquire about the question of Easter in the Eastern churches, and that during the journey they avoided Rome.

In the Brut of Ieuan Brechva we find the following entry:—

“A.D. 770, the time of the Britons for observing Easter was altered by Fermael, son of Edwal, and great ruin was caused to the people of South Wales by their own King, and they were compelled to slay him, which was done in the summer time.”

In Brut of the Princes the same circumstance are referred to as follows:—

“A.D. 777, the time for observing Easter was altered by Ferniol, son of Eidwar, and a violent war was the result between the South Wallians and their King, who caused great destruction among them, which compelled them to slay him, which was in the summer time, and, in consequence, that summer is called ‘The Bloody Summer.’

“Ever after the word of a King was never acknowledged to be the voice of the Country.” *Myvyrian*, vol. ii. pp. 473, 474.

CHAPTER XXII

MORGAN MWYNVAWR, OR THE ONE NOTED FOR HIS
COURTESY, A.D. 570

THIS king was the son and heir of Athrwys, and doubtless son of beautiful Queen Gwenora.

The county of Glamorgan from either the Neath or the Tawe Rivers, to the Rumney River, a mile east of Cardiff, received this king's name as Gwlad Morgan or "Morgan's Country." We are not to suppose the name came into existence with him, but that, originally, the whole country to the river Wye bore the name Morganwig (Morgan's Wick), or "Green Land of the Born from the Sea," a title of the sun, like that of the German Morgen—a Celtic name—from which the name "Morning" in English is derived. But this king having at the font, doubtless at Llan-Ail-Teyrn Chapel, between Cardiff and Llantrisant, received it.

Then in his lifetime, Gwent (co. Mon.) was taken from Morgan's country, and the name Rumney signifies Rhanu, "to divide," and the word "Gwlad" was placed in the forefront of the new name Morgan to distinguish the country of Morgan the Courteous apart from Gwent, or the course of the Gwy-Hynt, the flow of the Wye.

It is certain the eastern border of South Wales bore the name Gwent in A.D. 52; for the Romans adopted it as the name of the vast walled fortress they erected at Caer Went, and called it Venta Silurum, the Station of the Gemini (or Twin) Legion. Indeed, the name Caerwent seems to imply that the Roman general, Ostorius, discovered a fortress there already; and that by crossing the Severn behind Caractacus at night from Berkeley, he and his army raced for it and into it, before Caractacus on

the eastern side of the Wye, facing Gloucester, discovered the Romans had got behind him on the other side of the Wye.

This King Morgan is also named Morgan Morganwg. The original termination must have been "wig" (green)—as in Coedwig: Greenwood—and the name in that latter form seems to convey he was formerly the king of both Gwent and Gwlad Morgan before the said curtailment of his country took place.

It will be remembered that his father, King Athrwys, was with his army defending the Wye when the news of the sad elopement of his queen, Gwenora, reached him; an indication that his kingdom extended in his time to that river.

Morgan is said to have died in A.D. 570. That brings us down to the time when it is said the Archbishopric of Wales was removed from Caerleon-on-Usk to Menevia or Menwy Hen, Abereyron, in order to be far enough "from the reach of the pagan Saxons." It seems to have been first established at Llandaff—the mistaken "Londinensium" of the Council of Arles, A.D. 314—jointly with Caer Hill, otherwise "Corn" Hill, London, for the earlier Bishops of Caer Hill and Llandaff are the same in the Welsh records. This implies hankering by Wales after lost England.

Doubtless that was the period Morgan's country was curtailed on the east at the Rumney River, and that the Saxons obtained a temporary hold of all east of the Rumney River to the Wye.

Then Llandaff would be too near to the Saxon boundary to restore to it the Archbishopric as it was in the time of King Lucius. But the diocese of Llandaff still embraces Gwent to the Wye River.

Morgan is said to have been remarkably good-looking; perhaps he had inherited his beauty from his frail mother, Queen Gwenora, which, combined perhaps with the charms of her manners, which were also so remarkable in her son, as to have been the poor lady's undoing.

It is stated that whenever Morgan declared war all his subjects would rally to his flag.

He established in Glamorgan trial by jury, or rather revived it, and himself acted as judge at his law courts when matters of State or of the Church had to be decided.

He established a suffragan bishopric at Margam and at Pen Rhos, Raglan.

Morgan, in his younger days, had great trouble with an uncle, to whom has been given the name, Fraeog, or "the Quarrelsome." Things between uncle and nephew came to so dangerous a pass that Bishop Oudoceus, Llandaff (*d.* 570), had to step in between them, and Morgan and Fraeog were both summoned to appear before the ecclesiastical authorities of the diocese at Llantwit Major.

The angry uncle and royal nephew were received by the bishop and the abbot there, together with the abbots of Llan Docheu, Llancarvan, and their respective chapters. The gathering was an imposing one. On the dais sat Bishop Oudoceus in the capacity of Archbishop of the British Isles, with the handsome Morgan on his right hand and the frowning uncle Fraeog on his left; the three being flanked by abbots and cloistered bards; the title the earlier "monks" of Wales bore in the vernacular.

The matters in dispute between King Morgan and his uncle were thoroughly sifted, and both shook hands at the close of the proceedings.

The prelates had on the table before them the holy relics, but we are not informed what they were.

On all present standing up the king and uncle Fraeog swore to be friends in future. Both covenanted to the following conditions: "That if one killed the other, or dealt treacherously with him, that he should not by any means redeem himself either with land or money.

"And should he so offending, be he the king himself, then he should abdicate and spend the rest of his days in making penitent pilgrimages."

But, before long, the quarrel broke out afresh, and Fraeog was slain.

The king was held responsible for his uncle's fate; but what the king's subjects thought of the uncle is perpetuated in the nickname "Ffraeog" they fixed upon him. The

king, however, was called to account by the archbishop, who summoned him to appear at the Abbey of Llancarvan to meet the synod assembled, consisting of delegates from all parts between Tartary-on-Wye to the mouth of the Tawe River, to sit in judgment upon him.

The king came to the synod accompanied by all the elders of his kingdom.

We are not informed anything about the proceedings, but that King Morgan, with the assent of his elders—an indication of a constitutional government apart from the ecclesiastics—placed his hand on the copy of the Four Gospels, and then agreed to the following conditions: "To fast, pray, give alms, and to act mercifully and justly towards everybody."

He further consented to free the said three abbeys from regal or state duties, and consecrate the three with their dignities to the Church of Llandaff.

It appears that, from unknown times, the Abbey of Llantwit Major had had to pay a tribute of an iron potful of honey to the King of Glamorgan annually. That honey tribute the king now gave up for ever. He further swore to respect the independency of the said three abbeys and their right of sanctuary (*Liber Landavensis*, p. 396).

King Morgan the Courteous died in A.D. 570.

Einydd.—It seems soon after these proceedings this king succeeded Morgan. He is said to have been an excellent ruler, but did not live long.

Rhys.—He was a son of Einydd. He was a brave leader, and drove the Saxons from his kingdom.

Arthrael.—This name signifies "Mailed Bear," a cognomen indicative of the fierce times in which he flourished.

The Saxons had again invaded Gwent and Morganwg, and had even reached the eastern flank of Cardiff. Near Roath Church they were engaged by Arthrael and his army. They were routed, but, unfortunately, King Arthrael himself was slain. That fact indicates that he was gallantly foremost in the midst of his army during the action.

He was buried, it appears, within Roath Church, doubtless, according to usage, underneath the altar.

This church is across the road from Cwrt-y-Rhaith, or Holy Mount of the Assembly (or Court) of Druidism.

Meirig II.—He, too, had to contend with the Saxons, who continued to molest his kingdom; but during his reign he succeeded in keeping them out of it. He ruled in accordance with the laws of Morgan, his ancestor. His principal residence was at Llantwit Major.

Brochvael.—The Welsh name of this king signifies, "Mailed Badger." He restored Cardiff Castle, which implies that in the struggles his father had had with the Saxons it had been wrecked. It is recorded that King Brochvael performed good and bad deeds, from which we infer he was hardly pleasant to the ecclesiastics, the historians of the time.

Gwaerydd.—His name signifies, "He will cause Woe." But we are told he was a wise ruler, but was unfortunate; during his rule, both Wales and England suffering from bad harvests, sickness, "and wickedness." In those days, the Welsh remaining in England were governed by King Cadwalader. We are informed the Saxons in England suffered alike in the reigns of Gwaerydd and Cadwalader.

The disease which prevailed is called in Welsh "Y Vall Velen"; in English, "The Yellow Plague." The name "Vall" is the Welsh for putridity, and the cause is attributed to Mallt, one of the she-devils of the Bardic Pantheon. In Caradoc of Llancarvan's Chronicle, such a plague is said to have afflicted the country in A.D. 674. He adds that industry was paralysed, and famine followed. Gwaerydd lived at Cardiff Castle.

King Gwaerydd had a palace at Caerau, or the "Forts," near Cardiff. And he generally resided there, but State business he transacted at Cardiff Castle.

He built Caerau Church, chiefly no doubt for his own private convenience and that of his Court and household.

It is an interesting confirmation that the name that church bears is, to this day, Llan-Gweirydd, or Gweirydd's Church.

The king died, as appears from the context, from the prevailing plague. No doubt he was buried in the said

church, which he had probably intended to be his mausoleum.

It is in this reign, with the date A.D. 660, that the Aberpergwm MS. by Caradoc begins its summary of historical events in Wales. Touching the Welsh remaining in England, in old maps, Somerset and Devonshire and Cornwall are given as "West Wales," and it is known that "Wells," with its bishopric jointly with Bath, was formerly spelt "Wales," meaning "Stranger" to the Saxons, who called all foreigners "Welshers."

Of course, the Britons of both Wales and England would have looked scornfully at one calling them "Welsh," that is to say, "Strangers." It was a piece of impertinence on the part of the Saxons to call the ancient Britons strangers. Germans still call also all the Latin races Welshmen.

Arthrael II.—Gwaerydd was succeeded by his son, Arthrael II. He was more prosperous than his father had been, and he declined to make terms with the Saxons, by buying their goodwill and making gifts to them.

He repelled their marauding attacks on the sea-coast of the counties of Glamorgan and co. Monmouth. The expression "buying goodwill" intimates that it had been done in former times, but he was strong enough to frustrate Saxon attempts by force of arms. Chepstow means "Chopping Town" or "Barter Town," where the Welsh and Saxons met to exchange commodities.

Rhys, the Son of Arthrael II.—He succeeded his father. He built many castles and had on the Severn a considerable number of ships.

It is clear Rhys was a Free Trader, and while compelling his freeholders to make the best possible use of their lands, he prepared ships to trade with England, Ireland, and other countries beyond the Severn and Cardigan Bay.

It is recorded that he enacted a law, that every landowner in the Vale of Glamorgan must sow half of his arable lands with corn; that all landowners among the

mountains must sow one-fourth of suitable land in the same manner.

That all lands fit for growing corn and devoid of both corn and hay, nor stocked with cattle, should revert to the Crown after a year and a day, after due notice to that effect had been given to the owner thereof.

However, if that land, so neglected, were legally proved to be genuine woodland or forest, that law of sequestration would not apply.

This most salutary enactment had such an excellent effect upon landowners, that the countries of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire became rich with such abundance of corn that many people from other parts of Wales came and settled down under the sceptre of King Rhys.

The increased population in those two counties, as we now call them, became more powerful than ever, and the little kingdom received the designation, "the Queen of Countries."

Howel, Son of Rhys.—He made war upon Breconshire, with a view to recover for his kingdom, viz. Gwent and Morganwg, the districts above Abergavenny, called Ewyas and Ystrad Yw, "the Two Sleeves of Gwent."

One of them is now called the Valley of Honddu, where are the ruins of Lanthony Abbey, Capal y Feen (Boundary), near the monastery of that Priest of Antioch, known as the late Father Ignatius.

The two valleys in dispute are in the Hundreds of Cerrig Hywel (Crickhowel) and Hereford.

The Lords of Brecknock, correctly Brycheiniog, had unjustly, we are told, placed those two valleys within the kingdoms of West Wales, North Wales, and Powys, over the latter two of which formerly ruled Cadell (A.D. 877), father of King Howel the Good (died 948).

Howel, the son of Rhys, South Wales (Dinevor), was now compelled to submit to conditions, viz. limiting his boundary there by stones marking that eastern boundary of his kingdom. Those stones were called Cerrig Hywel or "Howel's Boundary Stones," the original form of the name "Crickhywel."

Near those boundary stones Howel, son of Rhys, Glamorgan, built a new town, which conveys that he placed subjects of his own to reside in it.

King Owen (Dinevor) invaded Glamorgan, destroying the crops, &c., his advance being in the direction of Abergavenny and the coveted Ystrad Yw and Ewyas.

King Owen came again in A.D. 967, dashing from the west into the Vale of Glamorgan. On this occasion King Owen broke into the Sanctuary of Llantwit Major, "because it contained Saxon clergymen." Owen next ravaged Llan-carvan Abbey and Llanveithrin.

In A.D. 982 Prince Einion, son of King Owen, son of Howel the Good, invaded Glamorgan, marching by way of Bridgend. On arriving at Pencoed-Colwyn, four miles to the east of the town—in the old MS. it is designated Pencoed-Colwyn; Colwyn was chief shepherd to King Bran—Einion found his farther progress barred by the military power of Glamorgan and co. Monmouth, under the personal command of King Ithel, Glamorgan. Einion was attacked by Ithel and his army defeated, and he fled through Bridgend and Aberavan, in the direction of Llan-Gyvelach; but near the Channel he was drowned in a morass, called since Cors Einion, or "Einion's Morass." At this time Owen, his father, was alive, but he died in 987, or five years after Einion's death, A.D. 982. Prince Meredith, Einion's brother, now (987) usurped the throne of South-west Wales, &c.

Meredith thus ignored the legal rights of the late Einion's two sons, namely, Edwin and Tewdwr, or Tudor the Big.

In A.D. 993 Anglesey was invaded by Danes, whom the Chronicles call the "Swarthy."

At that time North Wales was without a leader, and the strangers committed great havoc in Mona, as Anglesey is anciently called, and the two names are alternately used in history.

In their dilemma, the people of North Wales raised to the throne Idwal, son of Meirig, who was the son of

Arthrael, son of Morgan the Aged, King of Glamorgan (died 1101).

Arthrael was the son of Archdeacon Blegwryd, Llandaff, brother to King Morgan.

Idwal was educated at Llancarvan by Howel, son of King Morgan the Aged.

In that year a dreadful epidemic broke forth, called by the Welsh, Haint y Saeson, or "Plague of the Saxons"; a sweating sickness, which first appeared in West Wales at the time it was governed by the usurper Meredith, son of Howel the Good.

King Ithel, of Glamorgan, sent troops from Glamorgan to support Idwal, his relative, and friend of their Llancarvan days (Idwal is sometimes called Edwal), in his efforts to expel the Danes from North Wales, and they were defeated with great slaughter. But King Idwal was slain at Penmynydd, Mon., A.D. 994. King Idwal, states Caradoc of Llancarvan, was an exemplary ruler.

It will be remembered, the above Archdeacon Blegwryd was the great scholar selected by Howel the Good to rearrange with himself the ancient laws of the Britons called the Laws of Dyvnwawl Moelmud, a forgotten Moses of Britannia.

Howel is often confounded with Meirig, his eldest brother. Howel had succeeded Rhys his father, through the death of Meirig, who had gone with a force to North Wales from Glamorgan and Gwent to assist King Rhodri the Great against the Saxons investing North Wales. Meirig fell at the moment of victory. King Howel went to Rome in his old age, and, in A.D. 888, he died, caused by the heat there, aged 120; some say 129, years of age! He left no heir, and was succeeded by Owen his brother, who was crowned at Caerleon-on-Usk in the above-mentioned year. It appears that in that epoch, each succeeding King of Gwent and Glamorgan was crowned there.

Morgan, Son of Owen.—He was a powerful king. His wife was Princess Elen, daughter of Rhodri, killed in battle with Saxons in Anglesey in A.D. 877. Owing, it appears, to the violent attitude of Prince Owen, son of Howel the

Good of West Wales, King Morgan had entered into an alliance with King Edgar of England, agreeing to contribute to him annually one hundred milch cows.

King Owen invaded King Morgan's dominions, and war commenced in A.D. 959. (*Liber Landavensis*, p. 513.)

King Edgar was soon upon the scene and got Owen also to pay him tribute, Edgar being supported by a suitable force of Saxons in arms.

King Edgar demanded a representative council, as jurors, to hear both sides, and to adjudge upon the matter in dispute.

The Saxon king presided in person, supported on either side by the Bishops of St. David's, from the West Wales dominion, and Llandaff, in King Morgan's own realm.

There were twelve jurors from the kingdom of West Wales and twelve from King Morgan's kingdom.

King Morgan and King Owen were both, it seems, present.

This important council, valuable also as an example as introducing the principle of arbitration instead of arms in the settlement of disputes of kingdoms, took place in A.D. 959, ten years after the death of King Owen's celebrated father, Howel the Good.

The result of the deliberations was, that Ystrad Yw and Ewyas were adjudged to be parts of King Morgan's dominions.

The verdict in full is given in pages 512 and 513 in *Liber Landavensis*.

But King Owen was not satisfied, and he some time after invaded King Morgan's territories again, and again in 967, or eight years later.

King Morgan, who is said to have been a great favourite with King Edgar, and indeed with everybody else, except with quarrelsome Owen, sent a message to King Edgar.

King Owen was now in defiance of the Lords Spiritual as well as of the two other kings.

King Edgar, accompanied with a fleet of galleys, crossed the Severn and disembarked at Caerleon-on-Usk.

It must have been an interesting sight, the Saxon king

in the midst of those Saxon dare-devils, those sea-rovers, early Saxon "Mariners of England!"

Edgar, at this period of his career, was of such a character as to appear now to belong to a later age.

Observe his attitude on another occasion at Chester towards the Welsh Lord Cwaithvoed of Cibwr, near Cardiff.

It appears that, before the arrival at Caerleon-on-Usk of King Edgar, King Owen, of Dinevor Castle, co. Caermarthen, had already been placed under the ban of the Church of Wales, both he and his kingdom of Dyved having been excommunicated both at St. David's and Llandaff Cathedrals.

King Edgar, backed by the army of England, and Glamorgan and Monmouth, soon brought Owen into a peaceable mood, and to consent to stand unquestioned the verdict of the Royal Court in the year 959.

King Edgar, then, with his fleet, returned to Bristol down the river Usk (Gwisgi, or the "Flexible River").

But King Owen had next to settle matters with the Church of Wales for his recent immoral and irreligious behaviour. He now declared he repented.

But that was not enough in those good old days: Owen had to pay for forgiveness. Good words were commendable, but good deeds were better, and the Bishops of St. David's and Llandaff wanted to know "how much" would he give to the Church for forgiveness for his late offences?

It was the only way to bring matters home to the stern old chieftains of those days.

They were at home among neighing war-horses and rushing regiments, but ghostly things they dreaded terribly.

Happily King Owen satisfied the Church, and he and his subjects were again admitted to Church communion, perhaps he himself at the church of Llandeilo Vawr, unless indeed, he travelled to St. David's for the great occasion (Iolo MSS. p. 374: Llancarvan, A.D. 959 and 967).

At this period Cardiff Castle was again in ruins, and had been in that condition off and on since the days of

King Cadwalader the Blessed, or a period of about three hundred years.

But King Morgan had a residence at Caerau, Cardiff; another at Brigan, in the parish of Llansanor, near Cowbridge; and a third at Margam Park.

Owen, Son of Morgan the Aged.—This king built a church at Ystrad Owen, and a castle, called Talyvan ("Lofty Place"), on the green south-eastern heights near Ystrad Owen, till then called Ystrad Dawen, or Mound of the "Holy Cow." The mound is west of the church in the open field.

This castle, long in ruins, commands a magnificent view of hills, green dales, an immense tract of old Gorneydd, as the Vale of Glamorgan was then called, the Severn, and the coast of England beyond it.

Both King Owen, son of Morgan the Aged, and his queen, were buried near Ystrad Owen Church.

Until within living memory, there were two upright stone pillars at the bottom of the outer rim next the church of the vast artificial mound (of the Sacred Cow—Da-Wen), in the field just outside the western churchyard wall of this edifice.

We learnt on the spot that the stones were known locally as "King and Queen." But some few years ago (1910) some local individual broke them into fragments in order to mend the road with! That man was the greatest ass Ystrad Owen had ever seen.

It may appear strange that the sepulchre was on the outside of the consecrated grounds of Ystrad Owen Church. The explanation undoubtedly is the following: The mound was within the consecrated grounds as long as the older Church of Wales was independent of Canterbury and Rome. The mound was a relic of the Druidic religion, and from Apostolic times the Christian Church in Wales and Druidism had fraternised like twin sisters, and the motto of both in Wales was, "Da yw y Maen gyda'r Evengyl": "It is well to have with Christianity the sacred stone pillar." (See Deut. xxxii. 18, 1 Cor. x., Genesis xlix. 24).

But when an ignorant set of people, with bigotry

and superstition in their hearts and heads came to Wales to exercise authority in the ancient Llans and Ecclesiases, they curtailed the churchyards, where there happened to be a mound, so as to leave "the little hills" outside, as a thing accursed. Thus the grave of a good King and Queen of Glamorgan were anathematised by ignorance! Another example of the same outrage is seen at Llan Ildid, four miles east of Brigend. There also the churchyard has drawn its skirts nearer the sacred edifice so as to leave outside the sacred mound of King Keri, father of King Bran the Blessed—a mound there cannot, we think, be a doubt about it where St. Paul (St. Ildid), between A.D. 61 and A.D. 68, frequently preached to kings and other Druidic magnates of Siluria.

Ps. xxiv. describes one of these "little hills," symbol of the earth surrounded by the sea, as it was then supposed to be.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BATTLES OF RHIW Y SAESON, LLANTRISANT (GLAMORGAN), ANGLESEY, A.D. 873

IN the *Brut* of the Kings of Wales, p. 481, *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii., we read as follows: "In the age of Christ 873, on a Sunday, a battle took place in Anglesey, when the Saxons slew King Rhodri the Great, and also his brother, Gwiriad, Gwaerydd, son of Owen, son of Morgan, King of Glamorgan.

"Then in great rage the women of Anglesey took up arms and rushed upon the Saxons, and slew them with great slaughter. And the survivors ran away.

"In the same year, took place the battle called the Fight of Rhiw Saeson, or the "Track of the Saxons" (which is east of the town of Llantrisant), when an immense number of Saxons were killed.

The name of the trench in which the slain were buried is still called by the strange name Rhiw y Bridd Wal, or the "Path of the Mold Lair." It is surmounted as usual by a great mound, which is called Twyn y Drig Wâl, or the "Mound of the Abiding Lair."

The name has undoubtedly a jeering meaning. In English the place where a lair lies is called *form*: in Welsh, *waal*; and the name Gwal given here conveys an intimation as to the prostrate positions of the fallen foes and also (*trigo*), an intimation, they will not rise from their lair in the dust. The names are like echoes of exulting days of victory.

The Battle of Garth Maelwg Mountain, &c., Llantrisant, Glamorgan, A.D. 720.—Across the Ely Valley, a mile on the west from Llantrisant, is a mountain called Garth Maelwg, where there is a small mineral spring of water. We read

as follows in the same *Brut*: "In A.D. 720, Rhodri Molwynog, being the King of the Britons, a great battle took place between him and the Saxons, whom he thoroughly defeated.

"In the same year was fought the battle of Garth Maelwg (Glamorgan), another in North Wales, and another at Pencoed, Glamorgan, the natives conquering in each.

"It is further stated that the Saxons had ravaged Glamorgan, Gwent, and Llandaff (Llan Badarn in the text), slaying Bishop Aidan (he died in A.D. 720, Llandaff), destroying churches and many wise men of the diocese." (*Myvyrian Archæology*, vol. ii. p. 472.)

King Owen, Ystrad Owen, left sons, Ithel the Swarthy, Howel, and Rhodri.

Ithel Ddu, or Swarthy.—Prince Ithel succeeded his father, the said Owen, son of Morgan the Aged.

He was valiant and powerful. His favourite residence was among the picturesque upper valleys of his dominions.

This was on the eastern hillside of the entrance into the Ogmore Valley.

The house, now a farmhouse, still bears his name, namely, Twyn Ithel Ddu ("ee" sound to "u").

Like numerous other instances, the name "Twyn" has been corrupted to "Ton" Ithel Ddu. The name signifies the Hill of Ithel Ddu.

The spot commands a view of exquisite scenery of mountains and narrow wooded glens, interspersed with glimpses of green pastures.

In the time of King Ithel, the great narrow valleys of Ogwy, corrupted to "Ogmore," were long ranges of sheep-walks, extending over the mountains on either side.

Here often the king, with his retainers, enjoyed the chase, and the music of his hounds awoke the echoes of the silent hills as their royal owner galloped with his attendants through the invigorating breeze fanning the mountains of Llangeinor.

In the valley below his residence was a royal water-mill. It still bears his name, Melin Ithel Ddu, corrupted to "Ivan" Ddu.

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In English the name signifies Ithel Ddu's Mill. It is known from ancient records, still extant, that such mills were sources of revenue to petty kings. There is on record that the windmill, on the lofty hill-top west of the town of Llantrisant, was ages after enumerated as one of the sources of income to the Norman Lord Paramount of Glamorgan.

Copyists of Glamorgan records, not knowing of this residence and mill, have mistakenly inferred that the royal house was at Tondy in the neighbouring valley, and near Aberkynffug.

People have mistaken Tondy, or, correctly, Twyndy, or "Hill House," for "TONDU," a name-form meaning, nonsensically enough, a "Black-Wave" !

It is recorded that King Ithel transacted all State business at Cardiff, and that he fortified that town. He died in A.D. 994.

The troubles with King Owen, West Wales, &c., occurred in the younger days of this Ithel, who seems in the later years of his grandfather's long life to have succeeded as ruler both grandfather and Owen his father, while they were still alive, both, owing to advancing years, having abdicated in his favour.

It is explicitly stated that Morgan, Ithel's grandfather, lived to see his descendants on the throne. He outlived his own son Owen, Ithel's father, seven years.

Ithel was, it seems, present at Caerleon-on-Usk at the two Councils in A.D. 959 and 967 respectively, over which King Edgar presided. We can venture to infer Ithel was active in the years 959 and 967, when Owen, son of Howel the Good, West Wales, invaded the Vale of Glamorgan, named Gorwenydd in the ancient records, destroying everything on his march.

CHAPTER XXIV

MURDER OF PRINCE BISHOP RHODRI, OF LLANDAFF, A.D. 961

BISHOP RHODRI was a younger brother of King Ithel. In A.D. 961 Bishop Padarn, of Llandaff, had died. The Chapter of that cathedral appointed to succeed him Prince Rhodri, son of the late King Owen ap Morgan, and brother of Ithel, then ruler of Glamorgan and Gwent.

This appointment was not approved of by the Pope.

This fact indicates that Bishop Rhodri had been consecrated by the Archbishop of Wales, then at the head of the See of Menevia, and exercising rule also over all the clergy of Wales, as representing the ancient Church of Britain, which had during four centuries or more been limited to Wales. It is clear that the Pope's action was what is called "trying it on," with a view to get the Church of Wales to acknowledge his supremacy in Wales, as well as what he had obtained already over the Church of England, created by the Papacy through Augustine and his forty monks. Soon after this, in the midst of ecclesiastical agitation in Wales, Bishop Rhodri was killed by poison, but by whom administered it was not discovered. After this shocking outrage Llandaff was for some time without a bishop.

It seems the diocese was divided into two camps, one for acknowledging the Pope as supreme head of all the Christian world, and the other national party for retaining the independency of the ancient British Church. Eventually the rival parties agreed to appoint royal Gwgan, son of Regulus Idwallawn, to be their bishop.

Gwgan was cousin to the late Rhodri. His father was the noted Prince Idwallawn, the son of Owen, who was a brother of Morgan the Aged. Gwgan's selection and

consecration were brought about in a peculiar fashion. In *Liber Landavensis*, p. 509, we learn there were at Gwgan's consecration—no doubt at Llandaff Cathedral—the following dignitaries : King Edgar (*d.* 971), Archbishop Dunstan, Canterbury ; Bishop Berhelm, Bath and Wells ; Bishop Aelfric, Salisbury ; Bishop Athelwold, Winchester ; and Bishop Oswald, Worcester ; Abbots Aelfric and Aeswic. And the Dukes Aelfer and Aelpean, doubtless in charge of the escort King Edgar had brought with him.

Liber Landavensis states there were also present many of the clergy of the diocese.

It is significant that not a single relative of Bishop Gwgan and poisoned Bishop Rhodri is mentioned as being present on this great occasion. Even the wise Prince Idwallawn, the father of the bishop-designate, was not in attendance.

It is clear it was all a most unwarrantable interference with the rights of the See of St. David and of the Chapter of Llandaff Cathedral.

We have seen before that King Edgar was a favourite with the royal house of Glamorgan, and now, taking advantage of that feeling for him, he uses it in the interest of the Holy See. Idwallawn's brother, Archdeacon Blegwryd, one of the most learned men of that age, was not present either. Prince Ithel (*d.* 994) was conspicuous by his absence, nor was there present the wise scholar, his uncle, Counsellor Prince Howel, of Llancarvan, the tutor at Llancarvan of Ithel and Idwal, the Kings of Glamorgan and North Wales.

All historians confound this Prince Howel, doubtless the tutor of Gwgan,¹ with Prince Howel, the brother of Ithel, the successor of Gwrgan, son of Ithel, on the throne of Glamorgan on Gwrgan's death in 1030 to the exclusion until 1043 of Prince Jestyn, son of Gwrgan, as explained farther on in these pages. There was a celebrated saying, alluding to his son Gwgan : " Hast thou heard the saying of an aged man, leaning on his staff ? Do not argue with a fool ? "

King Morgan the Aged, feeble with many years, dis-

¹ " Gwgan " seems to be the mistaken form of " Gwrgan."

dained to attend to place the usurped pastoral staff of Llandaff in the hands of Archbishop Dunstan. Bishop Gwgan lived until A.D. 982.

King Edgar on this occasion is a pitiable figure in history. He had ascended the throne of England in A.D. 958 after the assassination of Edwy (*d.* 955), his brother.

On the day of Edwy's coronation, Dunstan had grossly insulted Edwy's queen, Elgiva, because, according to the canon, she was too nearly allied to him in blood, and also insulted her mother; and Dunstan deprived of their livings all the married clergy, and placed unmarried monks in their places.

King Edwy came to suspect that Dunstan was stealing the monies of the Church; and at last Edwy lost his patience and expelled the monks from the monasteries and churches, and Dunstan fled to the Continent.

All the clergy were now restored to their respective livings.

Queen Elgiva, the wife of King Edwy, was now murdered, and a rebellion broke out in Northumbria at the instigation of Archbishop Odo, a Dane, and other friends of Dunstan. Dunstan returned and Edwy's murder followed, and Prince Edgar was proclaimed king instead of Edwy.

At the time of King Edgar's visit to Llandaff he had been ruler of England, but in name only, fourteen years, but the real ruler was the ecclesiastic Dunstan. What a contrast the above picture affords to the dignified attitude of the royal family of Glamorgan at this time! This Dunstan is the comical Saxon ecclesiastic who declared he had once with a tongs caught Satan by his nose, as Pope Gregory instructed St. Augustine, according to Bede.

Bishop Francis Godwin, Llandaff, in his celebrated Catalogue of Bishops, published in A.D. 1615, omits all mention of Bishop Rhodri, but he does mention Bishop Gwgan, and that he was consecrated by Archbishop Dunstan; but, in common with other writers on Church history, he mentions the date of his consecration as in A.D. 982, the date of his demise, instead of A.D. 971, the date of his consecration.

Godwin mentions a story illustrative of the times. "A country fellow one day met a deacon of the Church carrying a sword. The fellow asked the deacon why a coward carried a sword—alluding to him as a priest of peace—and he then made a grab at the sword on the hip of the deacon.

"In the ensuing struggle the deacon's finger was cut, but he slew his assailant.

"The priest then took sanctuary in Trelech Church.

Mon." [It should here be mentioned that Trelech churchyard has to this day the remains of a cromlech, an indication it had, prior to the coming of Christianity, a Druidic circle, each of which was a sanctuary, as exemplified by the ancient saying, "Buarth Beirdd, Hedd ein pobl oedd," "the circle of the bards was the sanctuary of our people."] "But,"

continues Godwin, "the deacon was pursued by six of King Gwganwyn's retainers, and they killed him at the altar. Later, the said six were delivered up at Gwentonia—now [states Godwin], Caerwent—to Bishop Padarn, Llandaff (*d.* 961), Bishop Rhodri's immediate predecessor at Llandaff. Padarn kept them six months in custody, and on their transferring all their properties to Llandaff, and six pounds of silver to polluted Trelech, released them."

In the same paragraph Godwin intimates that Trelech is dedicated to St. Iarwen.

Iar-Wen signifies "Holy Hen," a symbol of the genius of the Baris or Sacred Ark, symbolised by Mundane Egg, also of the Navis, Church.

¹ See in Satan's hands a Font and Communion Patera.



DUNSTAN ASSAULTING SATAN.¹

Here is a most interesting instance of the Church commandeering one of the sacred emblems in vogue among the Druids, viz. the sacred emblem of the Boat Shrine (an egg), as the instrument of the spirit goddess Ceridwen, Queen of Heaven, and dubbing her a saint of the Christian religion! The Sacred Egg and the Rocking-stone (or Baris) shrine were identical in symbolical significance.

It is apparent the Church had adopted, even at Trelech, the advice of St. Gregory to St. Augustine of Canterbury, viz. to take over the pagan holy emblems, and, after first consecrating them with holy water, transfer them to Christian uses. It was a wise counsel. St. Febura also is of the same wrecked Pantheon of Paganism, and their consecration at Trelech must have taken place after St. Augustine's visits to neighbouring Caerleon-on-Usk, about A.D. 600.

King Morgan Owen the Aged survived until A.D. 1101, outliving Owen, his son, and Ithel, his grandson (*d.* 994), and he saw his great-grandson, the good and celebrated King Gwrgan (*d.* 1030) on the throne of Glamorgan and county Monmouth seven years. Ex-King Morgan lived at Brigan Castle, west and a mile from Ystrad Owen, supposed by some to be named after his son, King Owen ap Morgan.

There the aged sire of kings, in one of the most sheltered solitudes of fair Glamorgan, must have heard from afar the rumbles of the far-off active world. He was there when William the Conqueror passed through Wales on his pious pilgrimage to St. David's, and he cannot have failed to have called here at Brigan Castle upon the abdicated King Morgan the Aged as he passed to the West.

There, too, many times, the minstrel bards, the Clerwyr of Wales, must have solaced the old king with songs of Wales.

About this time Danes landed at St. David's, and robbed and destroyed wherever they went. Then, returning to their ships, they set sail eastward for Glamorgan, and landing on Gwaun Colu (Cel-Hu?), near Llantwit

Major, and passing up there to the abbey and seven colleges, robbed them all, as well as the town.

They did likewise at Llancarvan and Cyngaer(?). We next discover them at Llandaff and other principal churches in South Wales. They travelled, we are told, like a pestilence. They wantonly slew cattle and burnt corn, and a famine in Glamorgan and Gwent was the result, and many died there of starvation.

WEST WALES

Advent of King Howel the Good, A.D. 907 to 948.—All writers of the history of Wales invariably describe erroneously Howel the Good as King of “all” Wales, and often the King of “South” Wales. The result of these mistakes is throwing “all” history of Wales into a great confusion. In Welsh West Wales is called Deheubarth, or the southern “part” of Wales, being to the south of the hand of the officiating priest when facing east, which, from Druidic times, was regarded as the Porch of the Heavens, through which the throne of the Highest might be saluted. But, at the present day, by South Wales is meant the country from the Wye to Cardigan Bay. Wales is now in two divisions only, namely, South Wales and North Wales, which embraces West Wales, the kingdom of the southern “part” mentioned.

Now, Howel the Good was at first King of West Wales only; afterwards he became also the King of both North Wales and Powys, but he was never King of Glamorgan and county Monmouth. We shall now deal briefly with

Howel the Good's Ancestors

King Rhodri the Great (or “Large Man”), who was slain in 877 by the Saxons in Anglesey, was King of West Wales, Powys, and North Wales. At the time that Rhodri fell, Prince Gwrhyd, his brother, and Prince Gawerydd, son of King Owen, son of Morgan the Aged (Glam.), also were slain. Rhodri left three sons, viz. Anarawd, Cadell, and Mervyn.

Rhodri had also been Lord of the Isle of Wight since 843. When his father, Mervyn Vrych, died, Rhodri succeeded him on the throne.

Cadell was to supply annually four tuns (casks) of honey and Mervyn four tuns of flour to Anarawd, North Wales.

These were nominal tributes, as *per se* signs of subordination in a slight sense to the King of North Wales, their brother. The united gifts were valued at £65 as their shares of the amount Anarawd was under treaty to pay to "the King of London."

A clause in Rhodri's will was as follows: "If any dispute should arise between Cadell and Anarawd, the three brothers must meet together at Bwlch-y-Pawl," situate on the confines of Montgomery and Merioneth, below Berwyn Mountains.

In later times the place is designated Montgomery Ford.

In case dispute should arise between Anarawd and Mervyn, the three were to meet at Corwen, called Morva Rhianedd, and Cadell to act as umpire.

In the event of misunderstanding between Cadell and Mervyn, the three were to meet at Llyswen-on-Wye, and Anarawd to act as umpire.

Rhodri, with that strange instinct of the human mind, appears to have looked forward to the perpetual continuation of his sons' lives. He does not appear to have thought a time would come and generations "that knew not Rhodri" and his three sons.

Then Rhodri ordained that, in case his dominions were invaded by England, his three sons be directed to unite their forces and march together against the common enemy.

Anarawd is directed to make Aberfraw, Anglesey, his principal residence; formerly the principal residence was Dyganwy, on the Conway River.

Cadell was ordered to make Dinevor Castle, Caermarthen, his residence, and Mervyn was to settle at Mathyral, near Welshpool.

In A.D. 880 the Saxons entered the estuary of the Conway, and landed in great force. Anarawd marched against them, and defeated them with immense slaughter. That battle is called "Rhodri Avenged." In the partition between his three sons, Rhodri acted according to the ruinous law of Wales, called "Law of Gavel Kindred."

Mervyn, in some way, made himself hateful to the people of Powys, and his subjects publicly expressed their desire to have Cadell, Dinevor Castle, to be their prince. Two circumstances indicate this. Mervyn was dethroned by Cadell, and was immediately slain by his own subjects in A.D. 892. That was fifteen years after he had been appointed Prince of Powys (877). The attitude of Mervyn's subjects towards him proves that it was in consequence of his behaviour Cadell was compelled to proceed against him. It is curious that Rhodri had not thought of the possibility of either of his sons becoming intolerable to his own subjects, for he had not made any provision to meet such a contingency. It is probable that Cadell's invasion of Powys was to endeavour to suppress a rebellion, and to save Mervyn's life. This becomes apparent in the fact that, at the time of the catastrophe, Anarawd also was on the march towards Mathyraval, Mervyn's residence. Cadell now became ruler of both West Wales and Powys.

Cadell died in 907, and Anarawd became king of the three divisions named. But in 913 Anarawd too died, and left three sons, viz., Idwal Voel (the Bald), Elis, and Meirig. Edwal became King of North Wales; but Howel the Good, son of Cadell, became King of West Wales or Demetia and Powys, because Meirig and Elis were both killed in fighting the Saxons and Danes invading Anglesey. The date given for Howel the Good's ascension to the throne is on the demise of Cadell, his father, in 907. In 926, Howel the Good directed his great mind to the revision of the ancient laws of the Britons, then limited to Wales.

*A Great Parliament at Whitland Abbey, near Tenby,
West Wales (A.D. 930)*

At this Parliament Howel the Good submitted to the assembled representatives of all Wales, now including Gwent and Glamorgan, the revised laws of the country. As evidence of the status of learning at this time in Glamorgan and co. Monmouth, it is significant that it was from the diocese of Llandaff Howel the Good obtained his principal counsellors in the task of revision. It appears it was the first attempt made after the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain in 409, to readjust the ancient laws of native Britons. Howel's right hand adviser was Chancellor Blegwryd, Llandaff, a distinguished member of the royal family of Glamorgan. There were others assisting.

It is known that in Glamorgan and Gwent, amidst the celebrated Silurians, was preserved the sacred circle of Bardism, otherwise Druidism, which, in the time of Edward III., became to be called "The Order of the Round Table," with its central authority at Caerleon-on-Usk. Afterwards, it took shelter on Margam Mountain, still called Twyn y Duwlith, or the "Hill of the Divine Lessons." It is, therefore, natural to conclude that the ancient learning of the original Britons, and the classic learning of Llancarvan and Llantwit Major, made Glamorgan and Gwent the focus of the culture of all Britain. Bangor Iscoed, Flintshire, had been then in ruins about three centuries.

The Assembled Kimmerian Parliament at Whitland Abbey.—The Welsh name of Whitland is Y Ty Gwyn ar Dav, or Deivi (Demetia). Little informed writers have supposed the *gwyn* (white) in the name refers to the white-dressed timber forming the edifice! The simple meaning is "Holy Abbey"; for, in ancient Welsh, before the Latin *sanctus* was adopted for "holy," *gwyn* was the adjective masculine and *gwen* the feminine one for "holy," therefore Ty Gwyn signifies "Holy House." Such was the character of the

building where the august assembly of the representatives of all Wales, with King Howel the Good presiding, met in the year A.D. 930.

The ruins of Whitland Abbey stand near the junction of the Tenby branch, with the main Great Western Railway to the west. The King of West Wales, during centuries afterwards, made it one of his principal residences. Rhys ap Tudor frequented it; and on one occasion his grandson, the Lord Rhys, when he was still King of Demetia, entertained there Henry II. During petty conflicts it suffered often. Bernard, the Norman Bishop of St. David's, restored it in 1143, or five years before his death. But what makes it chiefly noted in the annals of Wales, is that it was within its walls, in A.D. 930, King Howel received the representatives of all Wales to consider his revised code of the ancient laws of Wales—indeed, of all Britain. There attended on the occasion the Archbishop of St. David's; six of the most learned counsellors of Wales that were not in Holy Orders, those wore scarlet robes as judges or Ynadon Coch; one hundred and forty clergyman, and also all the chiefs of the tribes of Wales, which afterwards numbered five royal tribes, as they are described. The gathering met in early spring of the year 930.

On the first day of Lent that year twelve of the ablest lawyers of Wales were formed by the king into a committee for the purpose of finally revising the laws—that is to say, to scrutinise what had been already accomplished.

According to the Welsh Chronicles, in A.D. 926 King Howel had proceeded to Rome, and he was accompanied by Archlwys, Bishop of Llandaff, who died in A.D. 943; and by Martin, Bishop of Minwy. Had he been of Minevia or Mynwy Hen he would have been styled archbishop. Therefore, we conclude Minwy the correct spelling of the name now rendered mistakenly "Monmouth." Martin was the Suffragan Bishop of Llandaff, whose headquarters, under Llandaff, was Pen Rhos, near Raglan Castle. The Suffragan's Palace is there to this day, and is so extensive that only a clergyman with private means can be induced

to take the living to which it belongs. The other with King Howel was the already-mentioned Chancellor Blegwryd. It is stated that Monday, Bishop of Bangor, went also ; but, inasmuch as there is nowhere else any mention of this bishop, we take it he was some learned prelate from Bangor Illtyd, now Llantwit Major, then the second principal home of learning in Western Europe. This, too, indicates King Howel's intimacy with the savants of this university, where, as seems highly probable, he himself had been educated. It is highly probable he had frequently met those prelates there in his student days.

Howel went again to Rome in A.D. 930, and it appears that he had but recently returned home when he issued his invitation to the estates of Wales to assemble for the great purpose in view. It is recorded that, at the close of the proceedings at Whitland Abbey, Archbishop Sylduw, of St. David's, blessed the laws just ratified. What added to the solemnity of the occasion was that the Parliament had been held in the sacred season of Lent. In Welsh, apart from the Church, spring is called Alban Eilir, or the "Sun's Altitude of Renovation" after winter, which, in a political sense, resembled what Wales had long endured in a worldly sense. At this very time the ancient feud between the ancient Church of Britain in Wales and the Papacy was fierce. The Archbishop of St. David's was the chief of the Church of Wales, with its adherence to the ancient ecclesiastical order of things in Wales, and the presence of the Archbishop of St. David's now is a safe indication that King Howel's two visits to Rome were to consult the imperial archives of Rome and not to consult the Holy See. Wales also had not yet yielded up its rights to the Archbishopric of Great Britain, and it continued to regard the Chair of St. Augustine at Canterbury as an intrusion into the Pauline Church of Britain.

Howel the Good died in A.D. 948, leaving a bright character behind him. He left the following sons : Owen, Rhun, Rhodri, and Edwin. It is stated Owen, his successor, renounced his right to the throne of North Wales, but was crowned King of West Wales and Powys ; the

last having Shrewsbury as its capital town, while Caermarthen was that of West Wales.

NORTH WALES

The two sons of Idwal Voel, Evan and James, now became joint sovereigns of North Wales. They ignored the equal rights of their brother Meirig, and a terrible riot was the consequence in North Wales. It is a doubtful question whether Howel did or did not, while succeeding his father Cadell in A.D. 907, submit to the conditions laid down by his grandfather, Rhodri the Great, giving the supreme position to Anarawd and the throne of North Wales, as related above.

Reign of Terror in Wales.—During the whole of Howel the Good's reign, ending in A.D. 948, he kept all the said three divisions of Wales in peace and prosperity. But soon after that date Wales witnessed the commencement of the most awful epoch in its entire annals! The country became the hotbed of factions, of bloodshed and cruelty unsurpassable, inflicted by petty rulers upon each other; and there is no doubt by their example the same state of things characterised the conduct of the masses generally towards each other.

As already stated, Owen, the son of Howel, succeeded his father in South-west Wales and Powys. Anarawd, Howel's father's brother, was succeeded by Edwal Voel, who was Anarawd's eldest son, his other sons being Meirig and Elis. Edwal Voel ascending the throne of North Wales in A.D. 913, and reigning till A.D. 940, he reigned at the same time as Howel the Good did over West Wales and Powys, his reign, it will be borne in mind, coming to a close with his death in A.D. 948. It appears, therefore, that during Edwal Voel's reign, he, like his father Anarawd, was the titular king of the three divisions, in accordance with the will of his grandfather Rhodri; therefore that, until Edwal's death, even Howel the Good was a sort of a suzerain prince to Edwal Voel on the throne of Anarawd, Edwal's father, in North Wales.

There is one circumstance proving this. In A.D. 933 Athelstan, King of England, won a victory over Edwal Voel, no doubt over all Wales; for, in case of attack by England, all Wales, except Glamorgan and Gwent, was bound by the will of Rhodri to join the King of North Wales, the leader Prince of Wales, to resist the invasion. Edwal agreed to pay tribute of £63 per annum to Athelstan, and we find that it was agreed that West Wales and Powys had to contribute to Edwal their respective shares of the tribute, but in kind. It is a mistake to say that afterwards the tribute was revoked; for it was still paid in the time of King Edgar of England, and eventually it resolved itself into the contribution to Edgar of wolves' heads by Wales instead of £63, a large sum then.

King Edwal Voel and Elis, his brother, were both killed in battle with the English and Danes. Edwal left six sons. His brothers, the before-mentioned Evan and James, ascended the throne of North Wales as joint sovereigns.

On the death of Howel the Good, in A.D. 948, it will be remembered, he left four sons living, and Owen, the eldest, became sovereign of West Wales and Powys. It seems that Owen, contrary to the will of Rhodri, sought to ignore the supremacy of the throne of North Wales over the throne of West Wales and Powys, and the consequence was war between the two reigning sons of Edwal Voel and the four sons of Howel the Good. Their respective armies met in battle on Carno Mount, co. Montgomery, and Owen and his three brothers were defeated, and Evan and James then took possession of West Wales and Powys in addition, and Owen for twenty years retired out of sight. The joint kings, Evan and James, sons of Edwal Voel, now refused to pay the tribute to King Edgar. That king instantly invaded North Wales. But the two brothers sent to him their submission (A.D. 961). Edgar entered into a new treaty with them.

It seems that the vast forests of Wales were great wolves' breeding-places, and that the wolves occasionally made great ravages along the English borders, and Edgar

now agreed to accept from the three parts of Wales annually, as a tribute, 300 wolves' heads. Inasmuch as that, under the will of Rhodri the Great, South-west Wales and Powys had to contribute two-thirds of the tribute, it seems they were now to furnish King Edgar with 200 wolves' heads, out of the total of 300. There followed, throughout those three divisions of Wales, tremendous wolves' hunts, and by 965 the three divisions sent to Edgar saying, *there were no more wolves to kill*. In the four years King Edgar had received from Wales 1200 wolves' heads. Glamorgan and Gwent also must have immensely benefited by those wolves' slaughterings, and the hunts must have created an agreeable diversion from the tendency of the Welshmen of the three parts mentioned, in those days, to fight each other.

Evan and James had now reigned jointly during twenty years. They now, however, quarrelled, and James (Iago) put Evan in prison. King Owen, son of Howel the Good, now suddenly reappeared on the scene and, taking advantage of the rupture between the North Wales brothers, he fell upon Gower, Glamorgan. Howel, a son of imprisoned Evan, now gathered an army—an easy matter in those days—with the laudable intention of setting his father at liberty, and also avenge the gross insult his father had endured. Gallant Howel defeated his uncle James and drove him out of the country. But the villain blinded his uncle Meirig, James and Evan's only brother, and, bereft of light, he died in captivity.

The outrageous act of Howel must have been due to some unrecorded action of Meirig in the recent quarrel. Howel liberated his father. Blind Meirig left two sons, Idwal and Ionaval, grandsons of Edwal Voel. Howel now behaved undutifully towards his father, for instead of restoring him to the throne of North Wales, he ascended it himself. Expelled James had now reached England, and in London he persuaded King Edgar to invade North Wales. King Edgar, glad of the opportunity to have a voice among the irascible Welsh chiefs, marched into North Wales at the head of his army, and arrived at Bangor, on the Menai Straits, accompanied by exultant James.

Howel proceeded under a safe conduct to the camp of Edgar, where he met his uncle James. The scene must have been an interesting one, uncle and nephew in hot blood both, and Edgar between them. Eventually Howel agreed to readmit James on condition that, instead of his father Evan, he himself should be joint king with him in future. This was agreed to, and peace was the result. Edgar then built as a thank-offering for the peace a church on the south side of Bangor Cathedral to the Virgin Mary.

Eight Kings on the Sacred River Dee.—It appears that Edgar, while among the Welshmen, was in a merry mood. He bade James and Howel accompany him as far back as Chester. There King Edgar was met by his invitation by six other "kings"—five being Welsh—each claiming to be a "king." These amusing pretensions of petty chiefs diverted Edgar of England much. To magnify his own importance, and amuse himself at the same time with his army, he ordered the eight "kings" to row him themselves in a royal barge from Chester to the Monastery of St. John the Baptist and back again after divine service at the church of the said monastery. Did Edgar intend a lesson to them touching unity? Seven of them instantly agreed to the task, but one of the Silurian race said, "Nay," scornfully to the King of England. On Edgar remonstrating with him he said to the king's smiling face, "Ovner na ofna angeu": "Fear him who fears not death." He was excused by admiring young Edgar of England. The seven other chiefs, or kings, performed the task, no doubt merrily, to please Edgar. Their names were:—

James, Howel, Kenneth, King of Scots; Malcolm, King of Cumberland; Macon, King of the Isle of Man (Monwy); Dyfnwal, Gwaithvoed (called Siverethus in Norman accounts), and Ithel.

Dr. Powel states there were to be four rowers on each side of Edgar, but it appears by the refusal of Gwaithvoed Edgar himself had to take the eighth oar (A.D. 996).

As already stated, the name of the fearless Silurian chief was Gwaithvoed, a name meaning "May he be a Warrior."

He was from Caibwr, now Cibbor, near Cardiff. All his descendants have ever since retained his words to King Edgar as their family motto. It is recorded that King Edgar went in person to gallant Gwaithvoed, and, greeting him with great cordiality, gave him his hand and most courteously said, "He desired to be his friend and kindred with him."

We here leave the flow of the narrative to point out that Gwaithvoed's principal descendant, named Cadivor, accompanied Rhydderch, eldest son of Prince Jestyn, in 1021 to West Wales on the death of King Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, and ascended the throne in his stead. In A.D. 1088 his principal descendant in West Wales was Cedrych, who accompanied Einion to meet Fitzhamon against Rhys ap Tudor (1088).

It is clear that Cedrych had inherited the family estates near Cardiff, and was well known to Prince Jestyn as an occasional visitor and guest at his table at Cardiff Castle. Perhaps to this is partly accountable his readiness to accompany Einion on this occasion to encounter Rhys, or rather to protect King Jestyn the father of Rhydderch and the friend of his grandfather and of Cadivor his father.

In the reign of Henry VII. (1486) his descendant dwelt at Cevn On, near Cardiff, in the parish of Llanishan, and was named Morgan Williams. He was the father of Sir Richard Williams, Knight, whom Henry VIII. called "mine own knight." He assumed the name of Cromwell, it seems, as a *nom de plume*. From him descended both Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden. At the restoration of Charles II. all the Cromwells resumed the old Welsh surname Williams, and Richard, the heir of Oliver, bore it at the time of his demise, July 13, or August 9, 1712, aged eighty-five, at Cheshunt, and was buried at Hursley, co. Southampton. They had always signed "Williams" on legal documents.

To resume: Einion, son of Owen, son of Howel the Good, now made an inroad into Gower beyond Swansea. This indicates his father had been unable to hold it. The

reason why Einion intruded now into Gower was because Howel and his uncle James had again fallen out.

Immediately after Edgar got back into England James sought to destroy his nephew Howel; but the nephew was too alert for him and took James prisoner, but, liberating him, sent him to his own private estates, but slew Edwal his father's brother.

Constantine, the son of ex-King James, now took the field against Howel, leading a force of Danes into North Wales; but Howel defeated them at Hirbarth, and Constantine himself fell.

The Danes, now without a leader, retreated through co. Pembroke and devastated St. David's Cathedral. But Einion, son of Owen, headed a force against them, and, coming upon them at Llanwanog, routed them.

This must have given a high position to Einion in the estimation of the people of West Wales.

The year following Alfred, Earl of Mercia, beyond Offa's Dyke, invaded co. Brecon and destroyed the town.

Mervyn had become king by right of Queen Nesta, his mother.

In the time of Mervyn, Anglesey was known only by the name *Mon*, meaning the "Sacred Cow," the emblem of Nature ever since the spring sun rose in the Zodiacal sign of the Bull on March 25. Therefore, Anglesey as Cow, came to be designated "*Mon*, the Mother of Wales," in what sense one need not explain. The term "*Mon*" was sacred to each Druidic mound and isle, emblematical of the world.

But after a battle at Llanvaes, near Beaumaris, in 819, and the Saxon king Egbert planting Saxons in the island, it came to be called Anglesey by Saxons, but never by the Welsh, who still stick to the original name of the island, a name dating before Roman times, viz. *Mon*. (*Mona*.)

Rhodri, already King of North Wales and Powys, by right of *Esyllt*, his mother, and also the Isle of Wight, married *Angharad*, daughter of *Meirig Dinwal*, son of *Arthen*, heiress of West Wales.

It will be remembered Rhodri left three sons, namely, Anarawd, Cadell, and Mervyn.

By his will Rhodri left West Wales to Cadell; North Wales to Anarawd; and Powys to Mervyn. Thus all Wales, including Gwent and Glamorgan as another, consisted of four princely divisions.

It had the effect of converting Wales into a cauldron of seething discontent among its leading families, each of which called itself "royal." They generally looked daggers at each other, and while animated by family feuds, they by degrees fell preys to Saxons and Normans.

Rhodri appears to have had forebodings that, by dividing his patrimony between his three sons, he was introducing discord into his country, for he laid it down that Anarawd alone was to be "king" and that Cadell and Mervyn were to be his satraps.

Sour Fruit on an Ancient Tree: Llewelyn ap Seisyllt and Aeddan, A.D. 994 to 1021.—Archdeacon Blegwryd Seisyllt, Llandaff, had a son named Aeddan, his father, Blegwryd, being a son of Owen, son of King Howel ap Rhys, a brother to King Morgan the Aged. "Seisyllt" came to be adopted as a surname from the name of their place, Maes Esyllt or Seisyllt.¹ Thus Aeddan was closely related to the reigning family of Glamorgan.

At Maes Esyllt, otherwise Beaupre Castle, Cowbridge, dwelt the Seisyllt (Cecils later), the eldest of whom (Robert) was the Regulus or Rhingyllt of the district.

Aeddan had brothers, named Cynan and Llewelyn Seisyllt. When Llewelyn was fourteen years old he went in for a great heiress, namely, Angharad, daughter of the late usurping King Meredith (*d.* 994) who was one of the sons of Howel the Good (*d.* 948), West Wales. He married her in A.D. 994. Llewelyn himself was also of the North Wales blood royal. His mother was Trawst, *anglice*, "a Beam," daughter of Elis, son of Anarawd, the eldest of the three sons of Rhodri the Great (King of all Wales,

¹ It was here Magna Carta was composed by Philip Basset, afterwards Chief Justice to Henry III.

except Glam. and Mon.), who fell in battle with the Saxons in Anglesey in 877.

Young Llewelyn Seisyllt and Princess Angharad married in the year both Meredith and Ithel, King of Glamorgan, died.

It appears that Aeddan was somewhat older than Llewelyn Seisyllt, his brother, and that he viewed with envy the high station his brother Llewelyn had attained to, and considered he had been wronged; and soon after the ascension of Llewelyn and Angharad, he took possession of Cardigan, and endeavoured to overawe Llewelyn.

He continued during fifteen years to annoy Llewelyn and Angharad. Llewelyn must have treated him most charitably.

Aeddan, in 1015, laid claim to the throne of North Wales as a descendant of King Anarawd. He invaded North Wales, gave battle to Cynan, son of Howel, and slew him, and he then became the King of North Wales.

He still held co. Cardigan as well. But in 1015 Llewelyn, now seriously alarmed, marched to North Wales, and slew Aeddan in battle and his four nephews or sons; and Llewelyn thus became King of all Wales, with the exceptions already mentioned.

We learn now that Prince Jestyn of Glamorgan—he was not its king until the death of Prince Howel, his uncle, in 1043—was the secret prompter of Aeddan.

In the early hostilities between Aeddan and Llewelyn, Aeddan had landed at St. David's, and in the assault upon that city Bishop Morgeneu was slain (*d.* 998). This date clearly applies to the first attack, when Aeddan succeeded in taking to himself co. Cardigan, and not when exercising authority as king in North Wales; therefore the troops he threw into St. David's must have been Morganians, placed under him by Prince Jestyn, with a view to weaken Llewelyn Seisyllt through dread of his growing power.

We fear, therefore, Aeddan was encouraged also by the connivance of King Gwrgan's Council of State, at the head of which Privy Council was Prince Howel, who afterwards reigned, after the death of King Gwrgan, from 1030 to 1043.

ASSASSINATION OF KING LLEWELYN 163

Llewelyn Seisyllt now ruled three parts of Wales undisturbed during the next six years. But in 1021 Meredith and Howel, sons of Edwin, brother of Tudor, killed at Llangwm in 993, sons of Einion ap Owen ap Howel, took up arms against him, assisted by Prince Rhydderch, eldest son of Prince Jestyn, Glamorgan, and Queen Denis, of Powys.

During these hostilities, by the treachery of Bishop Madoc Meen, of Bangor, Llewelyn was stabbed to death in a bush of gorse, on the battlefield at Abergwyli, co. Caermarthen, where he had hid himself.

Confounding Llewelyn the Last's murder, near Builth, on December 10, 1282, with King Llewelyn ap Seisyllt's murder in 1021, near Abergwyli, is clearly seen in the following lines by a bard named Llewelyn Guttyn, who wrote between 1460 and 1500.

Mentioning the said Madoc Meen, Bishop of Bangor, as the assassin of Llewelyn the Last, proves the fact.

In Francis Goodwin, Bishop of Llandaff's list of Bishops of Bangor, no Bishop of Bangor is given before 1066.

The lines are as follows :—

“Brad a wnaeth Briw dan Eithin—
Bradawg fu waith Madawg Min,
Yn derbyn Llewelyn llwyd
I Fuallt, pan ddifawyd.”

Translation.

“Treachery gave a wound beneath the gorse ;
Treachorous was the act of Madoc Meen,
When to Builth he received blessed Llewelyn,
To be there destroyed.”

The only parts of the foregoing we can depend upon as correct are that Llewelyn ap Seisyllt endeavoured to escape from his assassins, that he hid for concealment in a bush of yellow gorse, and the murderers, discovering his hiding-place through Madoc Meen, a cleric, lanced him through it.

Again, it will be seen that the Welsh commander, on

November 6, 1282, on the Arvon side of the Menai, was Richard ap Walwyn.

In the story of the final struggle on the Irvon River above Builth, when the troop of Norman horsemen, finding it impossible, in the face of Prince Llewelyn's brave eighteen bowmen, to cross through the flooded Irvon River, one Elias Walwyn guided some of the mounted Normans lower down from the broken down Pont-ar-Ewyn Bridge, and pointed to them a shallower part of the Irvon River, which enabled one Adam de Francton, and others, to pass their chargers through the flood to the other side, where they were not confronted by any one.

It is obvious that here again we have the Walwyn of the Menai River, as the Welsh call the Straits, confounded with the Irvon incident and the pass mentioned, and that Elias Walwyn is really the above faithful Richard Walwyn.

To guard against confusion, it may be here mentioned that later there was another conspicuous Meredith. He was the son of Edwin son of Einion, and brother of Tudor, killed at the battle of Llangwm in 993. He and his brother Howel in 1021 fought against Llewelyn Seisyllt, who was slain near Abergwyli, co. Caermarthen. But neither now succeeded Llewelyn, but Prince Rhydderch, son of King Jestyn, Glamorgan, did. Meredith and Howel now engaged Irish and Scots to assist them. They slew King Rhydderch in 1031, and jointly ascended the throne of Howel the Good in West Wales. But, immediately, King Jestyn and Glamorgan forces marched against the two brothers, who met Jestyn and his forces on Hiraethwy ("Wailing Waters"), mountain, and sent them helter-skelter back to Glamorgan.

But in 1032 another action took place at Machwy, near Builth, in which the two sons of Lord Cynan Seisyllt, brother of Llewelyn Seisyllt, commanded, and Meredith was slain, but Howel escaped. The *Myvyrian Archæology*, vol. ii. p. 506, states both were killed.

The two sons of Cynan had only just arrived home at Tal y Van Castle, Glamorgan, when the Saxons landed and the battle of Ystrad Owen was fought, and they and

Cynan, their father, fell, as mentioned in our coming account of that action. Howel, it is elsewhere stated, was slain in 1042 by Gruffyth, son and heir of Llewelyn Seisyllt and Queen Angharad, his wife.

King Aeddan, son of Chancellor Blegwryd, Llandaff, had made his will in favour of Prince Rhydderch ap Jestyn. This fact favours another statement made that the four youths slain with Aeddan were his nephews, and not his sons, as some writers infer.

Immediately after the death of Llewelyn Seisyllt, Prince Rhydderch of Glamorgan had taken possession of the throne now vacant, and he ruled from 1021 to 1031. But in that year Meredith and Howel, sons of Edwin ap Einion ap Owen ap Howel the Good, took the field against him and slew him, and assumed the sovereignty themselves.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE SCENES OF FEUDS OF THE PRINCES

There were so many leaders of the same Christian name that to make matters clear the following summary is deemed here necessary.

Meredith was the eldest son of Owen, son of Howel the Good. He in 985 led a large army to North Wales, and slaying in battle Prince Cadwallawn, son of Evan, he became King of North Wales. He, however, was expelled in the following year.

On the death of Owen, his father, he ignored the title of Edwin and Tudor, the sons of Einion, his eldest brother, who had perished at Cors Einion, Llangyvelach, Swansea. In 990 he attacked Glamorgan and Radnor, when his only son, Cadwallawn, was slain.

In 993 he marched towards North Wales with a view to regain North Wales by attacking King Idwal with a view to dethrone him.

Idwal had been educated at Llancarvan, and had been raised to the throne of North Wales. King Meredith marched through Corwen, and King Idwal came to meet him by way of Pentrevoelas and Cerrig y Druidion.

The two armies met at Llangwm. Idwal having been educated at Llancarvan, within a few miles of Beaupre Castle, the principal home of the illustrious Seisyllt family, Idwal and they were old friends.

Meredith turned from the highway at a place nine miles from Corwen into the short green hamlet above named.

This turning from the main road was evidently due to the approach of Idwal from the opposite direction, an act which shows misgivings in the mind of King Meredith.

It is apparent the first to attack was King Idwal, and young Lord Tudor Mawr fell during the action.

A farm a short distance to the north of Llangwm bears the name Tyddyn Tydur, where, in passing, it may be mentioned, was born Mr. Owen Jones, "The Myvyr," London, who published the three volumes called *The Myvyrian Archæology of Wales* (1800).

It seems, judging by the name of the farm, it was there Lord Tudor the Big fell. This again indicates that either he fell when endeavouring to escape, or that the battle spread a couple of miles beyond Llangwm hamlet itself. He was brother to young Edwin, and they were sons of Einion (Meredith's brother) son of Owen son of Howel the Good (*d.* 948). Their uncle, Meredith himself, died the following year, probably from wounds sustained at Llangwm.

Meredith left one daughter named Angharad, sister of Prince Cadwallawn above mentioned. Llewelyn ap Seisyllt was her first husband. They had a young son, named Gruffyth, of whom more anon. It will thus be seen that the right heir to the throne of West Wales was Edwin, brother of slain Tudor, the Big Man, sons of Einion, drowned in 982. But the succession was diverted to Princess Angharad, only surviving descendant of King Meredith and her husband, Llewelyn Seisyllt. But it appears an effort on behalf of young Edwin was made by himself and supporters, for Llewelyn and Angharad did not ascend the throne of Howel the Good until 998.

There were many forays of a barbarous nature which we skip over.

We have seen that King Llewelyn Seisyllt lost his life in 1021 near Abergwili, Caermarthen, and his successor, Rhydderch of Glamorgan, succeeded him, instead of Howel or Meredith, sons of Edwin, the brother of Tudor Mawr, slain at Llangwm in 993.

In 1032 a noble character appeared on the scene, namely, Gruffyth, the son and heir of the late Llewelyn ap Seisyllt by Angharad, daughter of the said Meredith, son of Owen ap Howel the Good. He took the field against revolted Meredith and Howel, grandsons of Einion, son of Owen Howel the Good (A.D. 998).

The result was that Gruffyth became sovereign of North Wales in 1037. He built Rhuddlan Castle, and dwelt there.

In 1038 Howel, son of Edwin, son of Einion, son of Owen ap Howel the Good, took the field against King Gruffyth, and very incautiously took with him his very handsome wife.

She, like Boadicea, was of the blood royal, and her husband, knowing the reverence of his fellow-countrymen for that sort of blood, supposed her presence might be more of assistance than hindrance to him.

King Gruffyth proceeded with great celerity for Dinevor, and at Pencadair, co. Caermarthen, encountered Howel, whom he defeated, and took the handsome lady his prisoner. It seems it was during the pursuit Howel's lady was captured. It is very likely that her alarm hindered Howel in his flight, and it appears that Gruffyth, after securing such a charming booty, rather preferred Howel's room than his company. It seems somewhat probable, judging by Howel's proximity when she was captured, he owed his own life to the attractions her charms had for Gruffyth. Howel, however, came soon again to attack.

It seems that Gruffyth's unexpected appearance at Pencadair was most inopportune to Howel, because he had engaged foreigners, who were on their way to join him, but had not yet arrived. But immediately afterwards they came ashore not far from Dinevor, and they began to ravage the country.

Gruffyth, however, made short work of them, and they ran back to their ships and sailed away for safer regions.

Cynan, the son of James, now returned from Ireland, where he had married Lady Ranaulph, a daughter of Alfred, the King of Dublin, and he came so secretly that he captured King Gruffyth, and was taking him away when he was overtaken by the Welsh northmen, who set the captive free. This King Gruffyth was assassinated in 1064.

CHAPTER XXV

TIME OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, 1066 TO 1087—
TWO ROYAL EXILES OF CAMBRIA

IN Dublin two young men of royal lineage, but exiles of Cambria, met and became bosom friends, often no doubt speaking of their kingdoms "o'er the water." Those were Gruffyth the son of retired Cynan, and Rhys the son of Tudor Mawr slain at Llangwm in 993. It will be remembered that the last named was the son of Einion, son of Owen, son of Howel the Good; the Einion who lost his life at Cors Einion, Llangyfelach, near Swansea, while fleeing from the battle of Pencoed-Colwyn, near Bridgend.

Rhys, son of Tudor, returned to West Wales, and recovered the throne after several battles with the usurper. It is said in the *Brut* of the Princess, it was from Armorica he now came, therefore it appears he came home accompanied with Breton troops. It appears that he and Gruffyth ap Cynan, who was in Dublin, interchanged communications, with the result that it was arranged he should bring by a fleet Irish-Scots soldiers, and that Rhys, with all the forces of West Wales, or Dyved, should meet the said fleet at Porth-y-Clais, Cardigan Bay, and then march together against the usurper Trehaiarn, North Wales. This took place, and the allies and King Trehaiarn met in battle array on Carno Mount, co. Montgomery, and Trehaiarn, and many chieftains were slain, together with great slaughter of troops on both sides.

After the fall of Trehaiarn, and his army routed, Gruffyth Cynan and his troops went in pursuit; but Rhys Tudor and his army suddenly departed for the south, without leaving a word of explanation. They dashed into

Glamorgan and committed great havoc there on the territories of King Jestyn, son of Gwrgan, destroying many castles. This is given by the *Brut* as in 1080.

Until 1072 the throne of North Wales had been occupied by Bleddyn, son of Cynvyn. Then he died, and the said Trehaiarn usurped the throne, ignoring the sons of Bleddyn. The account of the battle that took place on Carno Mountain between Gruffyth Cynan and Rhys on one side and Trehaiarn on the other is given in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, vol. ii., by an eye-witness and is highly interesting. In the narrative he describes King Trehaiarn falling on his shield and in his delirium biting the grass on the mountain.

The small seaport there on Cardigan Bay called Porth Clais, is in English the "Port of the Close," as the close of a cathedral is named. The name here refers to the border of the sacred environment of the great Druidic Sanctuary of Llan-yr-Huan. A short distance to the north of it is a great Cromlech, and the village on the breast of the hill facing south is called Tre-Maen, or "Abode of the Sacred Stone." It is clear that the spot for a cromlech was selected on an elevated site, for it is an Altus and an adjunct to Llan-yr-Huan for some special devout rites pertaining to Druidism. It was a miniature Stonehenge as late as 1823 (see Lewis's *Topography of Wales*).

The Carno monk states that, when Gruffyth Cynan discovered that Rhys had departed after the battle and their victory without a word of explanation, he was much offended, and without any delay marched after him; and while Rhys was ravaging Glamorgan Gruffyth was ravaging Rhys's West Wales dominion. It seems that Rhys had divined Gruffyth Cynan's perfidious intentions after he would have had with his aid disposed of Trehaiarn. But Gruffyth Cynan soon found himself sandwiched between the warriors of Powys and the army of Rhys, both marching against him from two opposite directions. He, however, gave the slip to the army from Powys, and secretly, doubtless in darkness, got behind the Powys army and then ravaged their territory between the Wye and

the Severn; then he returned to North Wales and was soon crowned king.

But Hugh, Earl of Chester, and Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, had witnessed Gruffyth Cynan's infamous conduct towards Rhys, his generous benefactor, and they employed one Meirion Goch (Red) to go and tell Gruffyth they both wanted a private interview with him at a stated spot. He innocently went, attended by only a few of his foreign soldiers, mostly Irishmen. He was instantly pounced upon and fettered; and his escort were all taken prisoners, and the right thumb of each was cut off so that they might no more be able to draw the bow. Gruffyth was then taken to Chester Castle and placed there in irons. The monk states he was a prisoner in Chester Castle twelve years, some say sixteen years.

WILLIAM II., A.D. 1089 to 1100

Gallant Rescue of a King in Fetters from Chester Castle, A.D. 1094.—One Cynvrig Hir, or "The Tall," whose home was between Corwen and Bala, contrived in a most remarkable and gallant manner to rescue Gruffyth Cynan from his long captivity in Chester Castle. Cynvrig and a few confederates proceeded to Caer, the Welsh for Chester, ostensibly on some commercial business. It appears that at nightfall horses were placed somewhere in the suburbs of Chester by them, and that Cynvrig's daring companions were in charge of them, one horse above the number required by themselves. Now, it seems we have not the complete story, for if it was possible for Cynvrig Hir to get into the castle without a permit, there was nothing, it appears, except the fetters to prevent Gruffyth from getting out in some wriggling fashion. On the other hand, the knowledge that Gruffyth was in close fetters made the custodians less careful of him personally. But how Cynvrig Hir got into the castle, unless some Welsh turnkey or turnkeys had somehow got employment as such for the secret purpose of admitting Cynvrig Hir at an opportune moment, it is impossible to explain. It

seems, however, that before the gallant and generous young fellows left their homes in the upper reaches of the sacred valley of the Dee they must have known that everything was ready to admit Cynvrig Hir within the strong walls of the castle which had been once the headquarters of the notable twentieth legion of Cæsar.

All we know for certain is that Cynvrig the Tall did get in; that he reached the Welsh king, probably already privy to the attempt about to be made, and that Cynvrig got him on his long and broad back, fetters and all, and that valiant Cynvrig, with his royal burden astride him, ran! Then the gallant few of Cambrian youths, prepared to fight any pursuers to the death, with the king in their midst, then leaped to the backs of their own Welsh ponies, and then away for the valley of the Dee silently, except clattering hoofs; and posterity cries, "Hurrah, lads!" as they thunder through classic Corwen towards the Dale of Rhiannedd, between that and Bala and Llyn Tegid. They galloped to Cynvrig Hir's own straw-thatched cottage with whitened walls. Then must have sounded hammers and chisels bursting the Norman fetters on the legs of the king, who became the father of Gwenllïan Rhys Dinevor, and later, father of King Owen Gwynnedd.

It is conceded the locality called Morva Rhiannedd is one of the most picturesque in Britain, and the gallant and successful exploit of Cynvrig the Tall has made it still more interesting. There is another Morva Rhiannedd or the "Fen of the House of Rhi" (God), in Caernarvon; but the one in Meirioneth was the one from which Cynvrig Hir and his associates operated. The other one was in the direction that pursuit was likely to be made, and it is too far from Chester for one place to be mistaken for the other. Bala was in an opposite direction.

It is stated by the contemporary monk that Cynvrig Hir concealed the king in his house for some time; and that after he had regained his strength by generous diet, Cynvrig conveyed his Majesty to Anglesey, from whence, doubtless Holyhead, he made his escape to his royal relatives in Dublin. He, however, returned soon with military

assistance. He found that the Norman-Saxons had, during his long captivity, made themselves masters of all North Wales and had built several castles there. Soon the heather was again ablaze, and Gruffyth Cynan and his warriors were burning and knocking down the buildings of the strangers in all directions. But the Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury combined and marched against him, and he narrowly escaped another capture. As a fugitive he reached the sanctuary of Aberdaron, and assisted by the monks there he borrowed their boat by which they journeyed to and fro between that place and Bardsey Island. In the boat of the monks Gruffyth Cynan reached Ireland once more in safety.

It appears that Gruffyth Cynan was regarded in Ireland with much interest, and being by birth a Welsh-Irishman, by a mother of Danish extraction, he had the advantage of deeply interesting Britons, Irish, and Danes. He returned to North Wales again supported by fresh auxiliaries, and again the struggle was renewed. He had to flee again after enduring great hardships, sleeping in caves, and half-starving often. He again left for Ireland, but so hurriedly that he and nine companions had no time to wait for a favourable breeze but trusted to the waves. The boat was driven up Channel, and came, it seems, to Llantwit Major (Porth Hodnant), Glamorgan, where they landed. They were evidently mistaken there for those pests of Glamorgan, Irish pirates, who were frequently landing there and molesting and robbing the inhabitants of the entire coast of Glamorgan. They had to fight; but during the row the parties appear to have come to understand each other, and Gruffyth and his companions tramped it towards North Wales.

It is interesting to note, in passing, that, not far from the cottage of Cynvrig Hir, a prince-poet of North Britain, Llywarch Hen, bard and king, whose twenty-four sons fell at the battle of Cad-Traeth on the Solway Firth, Scotland, spent in exile the remainder of his days. The spot where his cottage stood is still called Llywarch's Cottage, Rhiw-Waedog ("Bloody Aclivity Roadway").

Dr. Davies, Mallwyd, states that his name stood on the wall of the church in his day. But since then it has disappeared. Some ignoramus failed to take care of it where it had stood a thousand years.¹ In that cottage the exiled royal bard composed the following lines, translated now into English :—

“ See the warlike train advance,
Skill'd to poise the ponderous lance :
Golden chains their breasts adorn,
Sure for conquests were they borne.

Four and twice ten sons were mine—
Used in battle's front to shine ;
But low in dust my sons were laid,
Not one remains his sire to aid.”

Gruffyth ap Cynan, after many struggles with his enemies, the said Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, and with King William Rufus of England like lurking Satan in the background behind them, who came himself twice to North Wales to their support, he was finally recognised as the King of North Wales by Henry I., brother of the said William II. (Rufus), who himself before that recognition had led an army to invade Gruffyth's dominions (*Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. pp. 598, 603). Gruffyth was at last peaceably seated on the throne of his ancestors.

The same graphic monkish pen that described the death of Trehaiarn on Carno Mountain describes the person of Gruffyth: “He was a man of medium height. His hair was golden, his face round and of a healthy hue. His eyes were large and handsome and he had fine eyebrows. His beard, like his hair, was fair, and the latter was cropped round. His skin was fair, his limbs strong and athletic. His fingers were long and his feet shapely. He was a master of languages and spoke with eloquence. He was of a stately presence. He was merciful to his friends, but cruel to his foes.”

He had married Angharad, the daughter of Owen, his prime minister, who was the son of Edwin, and is known to

¹ *History of Breconshire*, p. 27.

history as “Owen the Traitor.” She was fair and ladylike, with a wealth of fair hair. Her eyes were like those of a dove, or in the words of the monk, *llygadfras*. She was tall, and her walk was light and graceful. She was amiable (*hynaws*), and of fluent speech. Her life was noble, and she was an excellent counsellor. She was kind to her own people and charitable to the poor of good character. It was her father betrayed her royal husband to Hugh, Earl of Chester.

The royal couple had sons, Cadwallon, Owen Gwynedd, and Cadwalader; daughters, Gwenllïan—afterwards wife of Gruffyth, son of Rhys ap Tewdwr (Dinevor Castle)—Margaret, Rhanallt, Susanna, and Nesta. Two of the above children, Owen Gwynedd and Princess Gwenllïan, will ever live in the annals of Wales. It appears that Owen, afterwards king, was named Owen after his mother’s father, the prime minister.

GLAMORGAN, A.D. 1030

King Gwrgan, of Glamorgan, son of King Ithel (*d.* 994), died in 1030. It is said of him he was a wise and peaceful prince—a rare thing in those terrible days—and gave land to the landless for ever; and he also gave to them a voice in each national assembly, and exemption to all his subjects from serving in any office which they did not like. (*Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 506.)

One tract of country he gave to the “landless” is still called after him, namely, Hirwaun Gwrgan, above Aberdar. There was also a road made by him into the western side of the Ely Valley, south of Llantrisant, and *via* Garthgribyn to the eastern hill country, still called Heol Gwrgan. In Norman times that road appears to have been barred, so that all merchandise from the vale might be taken up the hill through the town of Llantrisant, that it might be taxed there for the benefit of the lord of the castle, and afterwards for the freemen (1094 and till recently).

Howel, King Gwrgan’s great-uncle, is often confounded with another Howel, his father’s uncle, viz. Howel, son of

King Howel ap Rhys. This Howel, Gwrgan's uncle, Ithel's brother, was the son of Owen, son of Morgan the Aged, who lived to a great age, dying at Brigan Castle in A.D. 1101. The confusion was started by Caradoc of Llan-carvan by omitting the name "Owen" before Morgan, and adding to "Morgan" the description "Aged" under date 1030. We have very little faith in the statements as to the respective number of years attributed to several of the Glamorgan kings. By the way, a saying of Gwrgan's was, "God is on the side of every merciful person."

It was in the year following the foregoing events that Rhydderch, *anglice* Roderick, son of Jestyn, was slain in battle (1031), as already mentioned. King Llewelyn Seisyllt had been already destroyed by Meredith and Howel, and now they slew also their former ally, King Rhydderch. At the head of a paid force of Irishmen they overwhelmed Rhydderch, and took the throne of South-west Wales. But for the restlessness of Prince Jestyn, his uncle, King Howel, was at peace with all parties. But, we repeat, in A.D. 1043, the good and popular king, Uncle Howel, died, and, unaccountably, Jestyn was now made his successor. This misfortune resulted, in A.D. 1088, in the dethronement of Jestyn himself, and the coming of the Normans into Glamorgan, and afterwards flooding all Wales.

It will be seen presently that this was mainly due to the wilful abstention of the men of Glamorgan and Gwent from going to Jestyn's assistance when Einion, Cedrych, and Fitzhamon turned upon him. Fitzhamon overwhelmed Cedrych during the absence of Einion and his forces engaged in destroying Denis Powys Castle (1088). They even preferred the Normans to tolerating this strange man any longer at the head of affairs in Glamorgan. But they soon had reason to deplore their inactivity.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BATTLE OF YSTRAD OWEN, GLAMORGAN, A.D. 1032

IN the summer of 1032, one of the most momentous battles in the history of Wales was fought at Ystrad Owen, a few miles inland from the town of Cowbridge, "Glamorgan's fair village," between the Glamorgans and invading Saxons, marching up from the Severn at Aberthawen, called Nant Dawen in ancient Glamorgan records. From the scene of the battle to the Channel is about six miles, so it is seen the enemy came a dangerous distance inland on this occasion. The six miles is a broad, undulating, green valley, with the green country rolling back on both sides into the Bro Morganwg, or Campania, of Glamorgan. At Ystrad Owen the land in front of the advance rises rather abruptly, and high up on its front is Ash Hall, associated with Captain Gronow, of *Waterloo Sketches* fame. Below on the east of this hill the highway flanks it, and runs on to Llantrisant Great Western Railway station, a few miles farther. On the west of it another road runs over its shoulder to meet the highway running from the town of Llantrisant through Llan-Arawn ("Llanharran") towards the west.

On the summit of the lofty hill on the south, and facing Ash Hall, is the site of Talyvan Castle, where Cynan ap Seisyllt dwelt. A mile to the west of Ash Hall is the site of Brigant Castle, where Morgan the Aged dwelt and died. In the hollow of the entire district, close to the highway, stands Ystrad Owen Parish Church, flanked on its western side by the Dawen Mound of Druidism, where were interred King Owen, son of Morgan the Aged, and his queen, and father of King Ithel, who died in 994. Ystrad Owen

Church is on the point of a triangle described by the two highways right and left mentioned.

In 1032 a farmhouse called Trev-Esyllt, now Beaupre, stood between Cowbridge and the Channel. It was then the home of the Seisyllts (Cecils). Let the reader avoid confounding this castle with that of Denis Powys, then called Maes Esyllt. On his marriage with Princess Denis of Powys, Prince Jestyn received from King Gwrgan, his father, Maes Esyllt aforesaid, and he built there a castle, and named it after his wife.

The preceding archdeacon, Lord Blegwryd Seisyllt, left sons, viz. Robert, Aeddau, Cynan, Llewelyn (married Princess Angharad, daughter of Meredith, King of West Wales). Howel was killed in Anglesey in A.D. 1021. Cynan had two gallant sons, who lived with him at Talyvan Castle, and mentioned above.

One morning, in the year 1032, the whole of the district was startled by the thrilling tidings that a vast army of Saxons were disembarking from their innumerable war-galleys at the Lays and Aberthawen. The entire country was quickly roused into feverish action, and we infer there were trumpeters on horses galloping towards the town of Llantrisant and other directions calling "To arms!" Every man of Glamorgan was then a trained warrior, expert bowman, and thrower of barbed darts. Lord Cynan was quickly at the head of affairs. His eldest brother, Robert, was on the Wye River with a strong force, prepared to resist a threatened Saxon invasion from that direction, which, however, was nothing but a diversion to draw the forces of Glamorgan, to leave central Glamorgan undefended against this landing at Aberthawen.

The first act Cynan adopted was to throw up a long line of trenches (still there) on the reverse side of the hill upon which Ash Hall now stands, which trenches describe the base of a raised triangle, the two roads describing its sides and the church below its point. It was a masterly stroke that throwing up of trenches, for, owing to the absence of so many fighting men of Glamorgan with Lord Robert, far off on the Wye, it was obvious that those

remaining would only be able to act on the defensive until others would, by forced marches, have time to return here. Hundreds busily delved at the task of throwing up the trenches, extending from road to road. As the news of the invasion travelled inland, from innumerable farm houses on the hills issued gallant fathers and sons of Glamorgan. From heroic Llantrisant they came at a bounding pace; the Rhondda sent forth its best; and along the Ely Valley footmen and horsemen must have come rapidly; and through Llan "Harran" and Llan Sanor, and by Croes Van, came the sons of Pendeulwyn, Pentyrch, and St. Fagans. As they arrived, officers in the two roads directed them to go behind the busily thrown up trenches and assist.

All this time the enemy was disembarking at the broad Lays and at Aberthawen, a little farther inland, at the mouth of the Dawen River. Fancy beholds them forming in order of battle to sweep up by way of Cowbridge. By noon they were doubtless at Cowbridge, and now, having ascertained the unexpected rally in their front, they came on cautiously and slowly through Aber-Rhuthyn and Maendy, in the direction of Ystrad Owen. They soon descried Lord Cynan and his two gallant sons, who had only just returned home from the battle of Machwy, near Llechryd, Builth, after the fall of Meredith and the escape of Howel, his brother. They saw the three and other commanders on the brow of Ash Hall Hill watching their advance. But the Saxons must have been wondering where the resisting army was. They must have thought they were all on the Wye with Lord Robert, and all the forces of West Wales near St. David's, opposing a similar diversion by Saxons, with a like object in view which their brethren on the west bank of the Wye had.

The Saxons little suspected then that on the reverse side of Ash Hall the Glamorgan clans were most rapidly mustering for the fray, and to bar their farther progress into fair Morganwg.

It was impossible for the Saxons to advance any farther by either of the two roads which we compare to the sides

of a triangle without incurring the great peril from both cavalry and foot deploying from the reverse of the trenches after them, and cutting off their retreat should that become necessary. Upon those green fields near Ystrad Owen Church must have stood the greatly perplexed Saxon commanders. The only thing they could do was to attempt to take the trenches in front. The thing was impossible, for the archers lining the trenches commanded the brow of the ridge, and they never missed their marks! While this hesitation continued, it seems Lord Cynan decided to assume the aggressive, and, ordering some of his men to take the two roads on either flank of the advance trenches, descend in two columns into the plain, and then attack from two opposite directions the Saxons' two flanks, while the main body, under him and his sons, poured over the centre brow of the ridge, and made for the point of the triangle by the church below in their front.

The trumpets of Glamorgan sounded "Prepare to charge!" Then came the onset, Glamorgan racing to the brow of the hill, and then they poured down the slope in the direction of the church, while their comrades advanced along the two opposite directions upon the Saxon flanks. Thus the most fierce conflict took place in the flat fields around the church and the adjacent Dawen Mound. But here, alas! fell the heroic Lord Cynan and his two gallant sons, doubtless fighting desperately by the side of their father. Their fall must have sent the men of Glamorgan into frenzy, and great many fair-skinned Saxons fell that afternoon and evening beneath their spears and battle-axes. The shades of night were falling fast, and, we are informed by Caradoc of Llancarvan, hostilities ceased for the night.

Now, the ascending hillside opposite is still called Bryn-Y-Llengau, or "Hillside of the Legions." It thus appears the Glamorgans forced the Saxons up that hillside before them, and that hostilities then ceased. The name, "Hillside of the Legions," conveys that the Saxons were very numerous, otherwise the name "Legions" would not

have been applied to them. It appears that in the silence and darkness of the summer night the Saxons ascended higher up the Talyvan Hill, and escaped over its summit into what is called Cae C  d-dy, or the "House of the Field of Battle."

The Saxons knew that in a few hours their enemy would receive great additions to their numbers. As it was, they had barely saved themselves from annihilation. They had saved themselves only by ascending that hillside. What, then, of the morrow, when the Britons below would have been joined by thousands of fresh troops, fresh in a double sense? There was also the thought, which must have caused anxiety all day, namely, the extreme probability that another Welsh division might march after them from the direction of Cowbridge and attack their rear. A retreat over the hills and avoid the plain between Ystrad Owen and Cowbridge was decided upon, and was acted upon immediately.

The Saxons now passed farther over the hills in their rear and came to a halt at Llanecwywan, and at once proceeded in their turn to entrench themselves. This fact proves the Saxons did not consider themselves hopelessly beaten, for in that case they would have endeavoured during the night to regain their ships at Aberthawen, unless, indeed, the road to Cowbridge was already barred against them. That was probably the case.

At the break of day on the morrow, Lord Robert Seisyllt (Cecil) arrived on the scene of carnage—of the dying and the dead. Probably the bodies of his valiant brother and his sons had been conveyed inside the little church of Ystrad Owen close by. It is stated by Caradoc of Llan-carvan, who must have had the particulars from grandsons of men who had been present at the battle, that Lord Robert here made a speech to his army, probably from the summit of the mound west of the church. It was in the vernacular Welsh. He encouraged the warriors by reminding them of their past achievements. In a short time the Glamorgan men were in cadres lines on the march, going with swinging tread in the direction of the Saxon

trenches at Llancwywan. The Saxons were soon well-nigh surrounded by their fierce enemies.

Presently Lord Robert Seisyllt appears to have directed his impatient army to storm the crowded Saxon trenches, and they did so with such fierceness that the Saxons, after a brief resistance, broke away and ran for their lives down towards their ships.

The route they took is still called Gyrva'r Lladron, *anglice*, "Robbers' Run." It was a terrible scene that must have then ensued; thousands of foreigners running for their lives for their ships, followed and intermixed by horsemen with busy battle-axes, and infantry with spears and shields, equally busy on Saxon heads and bodies. On the green route towards Aberthawen the ground narrows and is known as King's Land. At that place was built in recent years a railway station, which is called St. Mary Church. While Mr. W. H. Mathias's men were digging the foundation for the station, a large number of skeletons with broken skulls were dug up.

TIME OF WILLIAM RUFUS, A.D. 1087-1100

Jestyn, King of Glamorgan—The Coming of Normans, A.D. 1088.—Unquestionably Jestyn, son of Gwrgan, was the most extraordinary individual ever seen among the ruling classes in Wales that we have any record of. All his acts savour of insanity, coupled with immense energy and unscrupulousness. In private life he was a veritable "Blue Beard." He succeeded in alienating his subjects from himself, and all the best of the people of Wales from Glamorgan; and when the Normans, under the command of Sir Robert Fitzhamon, assisted by Cedrych, son of Gwaithvoed, and Einion, son of Collwyn, of co. Pembroke, marched from Cardiff in the direction of Aberdare to encounter King Rhys, son of Tudor, of Dinevor Castle, co. Caermarthen, who was entering Glamorgan, across the Black Mountains, Jestyn could only muster 300 of his own subjects to march with him, whilst his allies mustered upwards of 6000 soldiers.

KING JESTYN'S GREEN OLD AGE AND HIS AMOURS

King Jestyn married twice. His first wife, as already stated, was Denis, daughter of a Prince of Powys. At the time of his father's (Gwrgan) death in 1030, Jestyn had been sometime a widower, for he then sought in marriage Lady Ardden, daughter of Lord Robert Seisyllt, Beaupre Castle, Cowbridge, whose mother was the said Lord Robert's first wife, viz., Lady Eviliau, who was now dead. Ardden's father refused his consent, but Prince Jestyn waylaid the young lady and violated her. This infamous act, added to the general dislike already entertained for him among his good father's subjects, and his father dying about this time, the country was unanimous in excluding him from the succession to the Glamorgan throne.

It will be remembered what we say in a preceding page, touching his father's uncle, Howel, being raised to the throne; but that in 1043 his uncle, King Howel, died. On King Howel's death, Jestyn was, evidently reluctantly and with grave misgivings, allowed by the State Council of Glamorgan and Gwent to succeed Uncle Howel. This seems to indicate it was his outrage upon Lady Ardden that had formerly influenced the leading families against him on the death of his father in 1030; that the popularity also of Howel, as a wise and good man, had contributed greatly to his exclusion.

By 1043 the feeling against Jestyn had cooled considerably, due doubtless to his better behaviour since, the exclusion from the throne having taught him a severe lesson. Now the battle of Ystrad Owen (1032) had taken place during the sovereignty of his uncle, Howel, and as the result of Lord Robert Seisyllt's distinction, for his heroic achievements on that memorable occasion and his consequent great popularity, Prince Jestyn now sought and apparently obtained his forgiveness. Robert at this time was bordering on a state of desolation. All his brothers had been slain in battles, and also two of his nephews, Cynan's sons, were slain at Ystrad Owen.

If the dates in the Llancarvan Chronicle be correct, which we very much doubt, Jestyn must have been about seventy-five years of age when he outraged Lady Ardden. Jestyn's years, it is said, was Lord Robert Seisyllt's chief objection to give him the hand of fair Ardden. But it is evident that Jestyn was, like Charon on the river Styx, green though old in years. His physical endurance is indicated by the statement that he lived to be one hundred and twenty years old, dying then in the quietude of a monk's cell at Denis Monastery, Crickhowel. According to the Chronicle, touching the age of Jestyn, he was in A.D. 1088 at least a hundred years old, and Lord Robert Seisyllt also was still alive, for it is stated both Einion and Cedrych consulted him (1088) touching the bad behaviour of Jestyn towards Einion.

It is obvious that the ages stated are the result of mere guesses at correctness, and that they are mostly incorrect. All one can fully rely on is the chronicled events alone. There is on record another story touching Jestyn's irregular amours.

The *Liber Landavensis* contains the following narrative : " Jestyn, the son of Gwrgan, sent one of his retainers, who was full of evil, whose name was Twr-Gwaerydd (of Caerau, near Cardiff), to Llandaff. With him was Einion, a grandson of Jestyn, actuated by lust ; the sign of the Cross was forgotten by them, and they violated the sanctuary of the Saints by taking away thence a virgin who had fled for protection to the church of Llandaff ; they captured her between the yew-tree and the church, therefore in sanctuary. Her name was Aurddiliau, or " Pure Gold," daughter of one Cynwal.

" But," it is said, " the Lord is wonderful among his saints," and in that hour, when the said young man took her off, as we have said, he became deranged, and his whole life was derided because disgraceful. And such an outrage having been committed, and the sanctuary of the Church having been violated, the bishop cursed Jestyn and the criminals from the altar, and deprived them of all Christian fellowship ; in fact, they were outlawed.

"After two years, however, Jestyn acknowledged *he* had acted improperly towards the maiden—tantamount to acknowledging his men had acted by *his* orders—and he sought pardon of God and His Priest, with penance and tears, and the maiden was restored." This indicates Jestyn had kept her from her friends during two years.

Then the account in the Llandaff Register goes on to state: "Jestyn gave to Llandaff Cathedral the Village of Maelawg up to Rhiw Farm, to God and St. Dubricius, St. Teilaw, and Oudoceus, and Bishop Herwald, Llandaff, all the liberty of the said village in woods, water, and pastures, and to be the possession of Llandaff Cathedral for ever." Then follows a long list of witnesses, all of great positions, to Jestyn's charter gift. Then follows Jestyn's own signature. (*Liber Landavensis*, p. 261; translation, p. 543.)

It is deeply interesting to discover the locality of Maelawg village. It was at the eastern foot of Garth Maelawg Mountain, in the Ely Valley, facing Llantrisant, Glamorgan. The name Maelawg signifies an iron-smelting place, and near its site—there is no village there now—is a cinder-tip, which seems to prove that in the time it was given to Llandaff it had a small forge, where implements of iron were manufactured; and Maelva' is still Welsh for a place for any sales. The flat fields along the bottom of the valley were afterwards named Ynys Llandav, now it is only the name of a farm close by, but corruptly called Ynys "*Allan*," the last being a misnomer for Llandav or "The Llan." At the foot of the Garth Mountain is a farmhouse called Mardy, always the name given in monastic days to the residence of the farm bailiff under the ecclesiastical authority. The boundaries of the gift by the King to Llandaff Cathedral are given in old Welsh in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 260. The editor's translation in p. 542 gives Maen Melin, a "Millstone," as "Yellowstone," which would be Maen Melyn. The mill is Garthgribyn Mill on the Ely River.

The scapegrace Einion, who assisted at the abduction, seems to have been a son of Rhydderch, Caerleon-on-Usk, who died a king in 1031. The said Rhydderch's best-

known sons were Caradoc and Rhys, who were veritable firebrands in the public life of Wales. Einion disappears. Was he the one mentioned as struck with madness? It seems so. We can arrive at an approximate date of the outrage upon the young lady at Llandaff Cathedral by comparing dates. Bishop Herwald, who excommunicated King Jestyn, was consecrated bishop in 1059, having been nominated for the See in 1056, and Jestyn was dethroned between 1088 and 1090.

Geffrey, in copying the original deed, inserted, with great subtlety, the name of Dubricius, or Duw-Vrig, or the "Branch of God," so as to create evidence in support of the papal contention, that he was the first Bishop of Llandaff—The Branch! The fraud succeeded, and stands to this day! We know for certain he was not the first by a long way.

Another interesting circumstance is, that the Mill Pond is named in the deed, Llyn y "Cleinion," or "Cleisiaid," the Welsh for Sewin. To this day it is proverbial in the Elwy Valley, that that Llyn, or Pool of the said Mill, was, until the Great Western Railway was constructed across the entrance into the valley, noted as a sewin pool. The local names corroborate the Llandaff Charter, and therefore confirm it touching the circumstances which led to its being given to Llandaff.

The low-lying meadow land, at the centre of the valley, bears now the name Ynysblwm, or the "Plumb-Field"; clearly a name dating from a much later period when Welsh landlords favoured English names. The name "Plumb" is an attempt to indicate its situation between two steep mountains, as is its situation.

We thus conclude that Llandaff was deprived of this property at the time when, in the reign of Henry VIII. in 1535, so many ecclesiastical estates in lands passed to the Crown, and then to the lay impropiators. The Home Estate of the Ynysblwm family embrace most of the lands mentioned in the Llandaff deed of gift, made by Jestyn as what is called in the deed as Jestyn's "sacrifice" for wrong done to a pretty young maiden.

THE SECOND MARRIAGE OF KING JESTYN—KING RHYS'
(SON OF TUDOR'S), ALLEGED FLIRTATION WITH
JESTYN'S YOUNG WIFE AT NEATH

In the Iolo MSS. we are told that, in addition to the late Rhydderch (slain in battle in A.D. 1031) were the following sons of Jestyn, each a Regulus, as Rhydderch was over Gwentllwg, his seat being Caerleon-on-Usk: Meredydd, Cadwgan, Gruffydd (of Coety); Rhiwallawn (he became a "Frenchman," Fitzhamon giving him an estate in Normandy); Morgan Hir. Daughters: Ellen the Fair, she married Lord Trym, Breconshire; Gwen, she married Lord Ynir, Gwent. The mother of those eight children was Princess Denis—Denis Powys.

Jestyn's second wife was Princess Angharad, daughter of King Elystan Clôdrydd, whose rule extended over Lower Powys, the country between the Wye and the Severn. Her father was the head of one of the five Royal Tribes of Wales. Angharad had one brother, whose name was Cadwgan, who had eleven sons and four daughters, three of whom, judging by their names, took the veil as nuns. Queen Angharad became the mother of the following sons: Caradoc, Madoc, Morgan, Rhys, and one daughter, namely, Nesta, touching whom the fatal quarrel took place between her father and Einion, son of Collwyn, resulting in deciding Sir Robert Fitzhamon and the twelve Norman knights to stay in Glamorgan and possess the country. (Iolo MS. pp. 393-95). More anon.

In the *Cambrian Journal*, 1860, is printed a paper written by Rev. Thomas Bassett, Lanylai, Llantrisant, early, we believe, in the seventeenth century. Portions of the MS., pasted on fresh sheets, are now in the Cardiff Library. It is full of palpable errors, mixed, there cannot be the slightest doubt, with correct account of incidents in the history of the times immediately preceding the arrival of the Normans. One story, which he seems to have reversed completely, is so much like one of Jestyn's amorous escapades, that we fully conclude that Bassett has placed

Rhys in the wrong position in the narrative, and Jestyn as the *sufferer*. Bassett, most erroneously, has it that Jestyn's young wife was named Nesta. She was really the first wife of Rhys ap Tewdwr, and they had a daughter named also Nesta, like her mother. The last named was a noted beauty and captivated Henry I. It will be remembered she was the mother of Earl Robert Fitzroy, who afterwards married Lady Mably, the sole heiress of her father, Sir Robert Fitzhamon. They had another son, says Giraldus, named Henry, p. 122, slain in Ireland. Bassett states that Rhys ap Tewdwr was "fair and comely." As a fact we know he was very old, and the husband of a second wife, the daughter of the King of Dublin, and that *she* was the mother of the celebrated King Gruffyth ap Rhys, from whom descends a long line of the Rices of Dinevor Castle, co. Caermarthen.

The bungling story of Bassett is as follows: Rhys heard at Whitland Abbey the charms of Jestyn's wife extolled with the harp by minstrel bards. Rhys contrived to induce Jestyn and his wife to come to an entertainment at Neath. There Rhys (aged about eighty) became greatly enamoured with Jestyn's consort; and late that night Rhys invaded Queen Nesta's bed-chamber. But by some means she expelled him. She then went to inform Jestyn, and he instantly adopted means to depart before daybreak, and they were miles away before Rhys knew of their departure. Bassett is so mixed up in his narrative that he asserts that this induced Rhys to invade Glamorgan. That was really an act of vengeance for the insult offered by Jestyn to Rhys' Queen. Had the culprit been Rhys, Jestyn would have been the one thirsting for revenge and not Rhys.

The story must be completely reversed, for it was that gay Welsh Don Juan, King Jestyn, who invaded Queen Nesta's sleeping apartment at Neath. This quarrel eventually cost Rhys' life in the Rhondda Valley and the dethronement of Jestyn by the Normans, aided by Cedrych and Einion.

CHAPTER XXVII

RHYS AP TUDOR AND JESTYN AP GWRGAN

RHYS was the son and heir of Tudor, killed at Llangwm in 993. Inasmuch as the following contains a continuation of the lives of Jestyn and Rhys—son of Tudor, son of Einion, son of Owen, son of Howel the Good—to the death of both, together with the result of the quarrel between them, namely, the coming of the Normans into Glamorgan, we will now proceed with the narrative. But we will first deal briefly with the career of King Rhys.

Howel the Good died in A.D. 948. He left four sons, namely, Edwin, Rhun, Owen, and Rhodri. Rhun mysteriously disappeared and was never found; but is often mistakenly said to be the son of Meredith ap Owen, son of Howel. Einion was killed in battle at a place still called Cors Einion (Einion's Morass) in Llangyfelach. But he left two sons, Edwin and Tewdwr. Einion himself was the son of Owen, son of Howel the Good. Owen, therefore, was the grandfather of the last-named Edwin and Tudor.

Now, on the death of Owen in 987, Edwin, son of Einion, killed at Cors Einion, should have succeeded his grandfather Owen. But he was skipped over by Meredith and Howel, brothers of their late father Owen, and they usurped the throne of South-west Wales, *i.e.* Deheubarth. Edwin, the lawful heir of Einion, left three brothers. Meredith lost his life at Machwy, near Builth, in 1032, but in this account it is stated that Howel escaped from the Machwy battle.

This Tewdwr Mawr was the father of the celebrated King Rhys, son of Tudor (Tewdwr) who was captured

at Treherbert (1088)¹ and beheaded at the instigation of King Jestyn at Pen Rhys, Rhondda, where his grandson, the celebrated Earl Robert Fitzroy, about A.D. 1130, built a monastery on the site where King Rhys, his mother Nesta's father, was beheaded in A.D. 1088. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and given to the Grey Friars, and it continued to flourish as Home Pen Rhys until *circa* A.D. 1414. Henry V. demolished it.

It is stated that Prince Rhys did not come home from Ireland to claim his throne, usurped by his grandfather's brother Meredith, until A.D. 1077, but then came. His father's only brother, Edwin, was now dead, but had left sons, Owen, Howel, and Meredith. In 1077 Rhys himself had children: Nesta, Goronwy, Howel, and Cynan of the bar sinister. He had also a little boy by his second wife, the daughter of the King of Dublin. This boy became celebrated as Prince Gruffyth ap Rhys, who married many years after the illustrious Princess Gwenllian, daughter of King Gruffyth ap Cynan, North Wales, both afterwards the parents of Lord Rhys, of Dinevor Castle (died 1196). She is in everlasting remembrance in the annals of Wales.

[RECAPITULATION]

BATTLE OF MOUNT CARNO, A.D. 1080

We repeat, for the sake of sequence, that the North Wales throne had been usurped by Trehaiarn, and the heir of Cynan, the late king, namely, Gruffyth ap Cynan, was in exile in Ireland. There he and Rhys, son of Tudor Mawr, son of Einion, became associates. Trehaiarn based his claim on the fact his wife was the daughter of King Llewelyn Seisyllt, slain in 1021 at Abergwyli, co. Caermarthen. Rhys sent an invitation to Gruffyth Cynan to come home, and promised he would assist him to recover his throne.

Gruffyth and Rhys met at Porth y Clais above St. David's, and both marched with their forces towards

¹ Called anciently Cwm-Rhys-Bren ("Glen of King Rhys").

North Wales, Gruffyth being accompanied by an army of Irishmen, but gathering Welsh adherents *en route*. Trehaiarn met his foes on Carno Mountain, Montgomery, and in the battle he fell on the mountain.

While Gruffyth Cynan and his Irishmen were in pursuit of the vanquished Northerners, Rhys most mysteriously ordered his army to leave for home, without leaving a word of explanation to Gruffyth Cynan. It appears that somehow Rhys had divined that Gruffyth intended to turn upon him treacherously after he should return from the pursuit. Rhys was right, and he decided to return immediately and hurl his army upon Glamorgan and Jestyn (1080). He passed through Cardiff, wrecked Denis Powys, Boverton, Llantwit Major, and Dunraven Castles. It is said he wrecked nothing but Jestyn's own private estates. Then he returned home to Dinevor Castle. Jestyn was soon after him (1080), and devastated Swansea Valley and the borders of Brecknock under Rhys' rule. But it is noticeable he did not venture far into Rhys' kingdom of Dyved.

We next find ungrateful Gruffyth Cynan invading Rhys' territories. Rhys sent him home on the run.

THE FATE OF GLAMORGAN

Seven years later Einion, son of Collwyn, had just returned home from continental wars, where he had mixed with Sir Robert Fitzhamon and other Norman knights, and, puffed up with his experiences in war, entered into a conspiracy against Rhys. The conspirators were: Madoc and Rhiryd and Cadwgan, the three of Powys; Cadivor ap Collwyn, brother of Einion ap Collwyn; Blaen-Cych Castle, on the Cych River, which flows into the River Teivi, not far from Llechryd Bridge, near Newcastle Emlyn; and also Einion, the brother of the said Cadivor. The conspirators nearly captured Rhys, but he made good his escape, and reached Dublin, where he was received by the King, his father-in-law.

Next year Rhys appeared with a strong fleet in Cardigan Bay, and passing up the Teivi River with the tide, his fleet,

with a strong force of Irishmen on board, he began to disembark them near Llechryd Bridge. Now, it looks as if the fleet had been windbound in the bay, for the conspirators had had sufficient time to bring their forces to Llechryd Bridge to oppose the landing by force of arms, and a fight was the result. But Madoc and Rhyrid were both slain. Cadwgan escaped, so did Cadivor, who hurried to his Blaen-Cych Castle. And Einion also escaped, and Cadivor's two sons, viz. Llewelyn and Einion, escaped too. The victory for Rhys was complete. It seems that Rhys' native soldiers had hurried to the scene of battle, and coming behind the conspirators, the latter found themselves where Satan would not care to find himself, namely, sandwiched between angry Irishmen and angry Welshmen (pp. 169-170).

Rhys, now flushed with victory, hurried up the romantic Cych Glen, and appeared before Blaen-Cych Castle, and, of course, demanded its surrender. That not being accorded he set it on fire, hoping no doubt the rest of his enemies were within it. But only Cadivor was in it, and he perished in the flames. To this day the heaps of ruins there are known by name of "Cadivor's Furnace." On discovering that the elder Einion had not perished with his brother, Rhys issued a proclamation, offering a reward of 300 cows and 1000 acres of land, free of taxation, for Einion dead or alive.

Next year one Gruffyth ap Meredith, a local magnate, joined the elder Einion and his nephews, Llewelyn and Einion, in taking the field again against Rhys. A battle was the result, fought at Llandydoch (St. Dogmael), situate between the town of Cardigan and Cardigan Bay. The nephews, Llewelyn and Einion, were both slain. Gruffyth was captured, and was immediately beheaded. The uncle Einion, however, escaped alive. There is no question that all the conspirators against Rhys had been set to it by Jestyn of Glamorgan, who was all along hankering after the throne of West Wales, on which fifty-six years before his son Rhydderch had sat.

It seems probable that the action of Powys against

Rhys was also the result of Einion's machinations at the instigation of his uncle Jestyn, whose evil eye had been long on Rhys. It is likely that the only reason why Jestyn had not joined in the attack upon Rhys with Powys was the impossibility he experienced of inducing his own subjects to co-operate with him in that attack. With the victory of Rhys at Llechryd and at St. Dogmael and the destruction of his leading foes there and at Glyncych Castle, the clouds gathered around Jestyn; for it seemed now the heroic veteran Rhys would not let the grass grow under his feet before he would invade Glamorgan and there crush the ringleader himself.

In Einion's lucky escape from St. Dogmael's, it is significantly plain why he flew direct to Cardiff. It indicates that he knew that his recent attacks upon Rhys would most certainly secure him a cordial reception there by Jestyn and his family. Another highly significant circumstance is, that, after reaching the Court of Jestyn, we do not learn of any effort made there to concentrate the men of Glamorgan itself in order to resist Rhys' threatened invasion. It is clear it was felt that public opinion in Glamorgan would not for a moment tolerate such a suggestion; and the fact that, when the 3000 Normans under Fitzhamon arrived, with Cedrych's 2000 and Einion's 1000, and assembled at Cardiff, Jestyn could only muster, as already stated, 300 of the warlike men of Glamorgan, proves that practically Jestyn had been abandoned by his own subjects; that his great age and, therefore, the imminent probability he would, by his death, soon quit the scene altogether, was the only reason, combined with reverence for the memory of his ancestors and especially for that of Gwrgan ab Ithel, his father, that prevented them from dethroning him themselves.

Bonaparte used to say, that some quarter of an hour always decided the fate of every battle. The great mistake Glamorgan now made was hesitating, until too late, to attack Jestyn, after they discovered he had sent Einion to London to the Court of King William Rufus to solicit Sir Robert Fitzhamon's assistance to repel Rhys' invasion

of Glamorgan. This hesitation cost them afterwards innumerable lives, and the loss of innumerable landed estates which had been in the possession of Glamorgan families time out of mind.

Having once admitted the Normans into the many castellated strongholds of Glamorgan which was already, by the selfishness and greed of its royal family, isolated from the rest of Wales, the open seaboard of Glamorgan enabled the Normans to draw across the channel, from the opposite coast of England, reinforcements of soldiers and supplies.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GATHERING STORM—THE BATTLE OF ABERDAR

It appears that Rhys went about coolly and deliberately to prepare for the invasion of Glamorgan. The only formidable obstacle he supposed he would have to encounter would come from Powys, between the Wye and Severn, which might march to oppose him in Glamorgan. But after the defeat of Powys at Cardigan, especially the death of the Powys' leaders, Powys would, at least for a time, prove harmless. Rhys seems to have had no suspicion that Jestyn would commit the enormity of inviting a strong Norman force into the centre of Wales, and that the most fertile parts of it.

Ever since the Conquest in 1066, twenty-four years before, all England had lain prostrate at the foot of William, the father of King William Rufus, now on the throne, but Wales had remained a free but disturbed country, enjoying its own laws and customs. William the Conqueror had travelled twice through South Wales in pilgrimages to St. David's Cathedral, two visits ecclesiastically being considered equal in virtue to once to St. Peter's at Rome. William I. had shown no intention to rouse the Britons of Wales against him; for it might endanger his conquest of England should the older Britons of Wales unite themselves to their old foes the Saxons in England. They too had assisted him at Hastings, and one of the elements which conduced to William's victory over the Saxons at Hastings in 1066 was the acquiescence of all Wales in what he did there; indeed, it appears that in the battle of Hastings Wales took a most important part as his ally against King Harold.

Einion seems to have acted most secretly in his solicitations at the Court of William Rufus, and with Cedrych in West Wales ; and that afterwards, on Einion himself returning to Pembrokeshire, the thousand men he recruited there for the expedition into Glamorgan was the first intimation that reached Rhys, to the effect that a confederacy, including Normans from England, was gathering against him. Fitzhamon seems to have been under weigh from Bristol, and the allies under weigh from Milford Haven to rendezvous at Porth Ceri, a little west of the present Barry Docks, before Rhys started for Glamorgan, followed by his heroic army from Dinevor Castle, co. Caermarthen. It seems as if the ships which conveyed the 3000 Welsh of Cedrych and Einion from Milford Haven had been sent across from Portsmouth or Southampton for their use.

It is reported in the Welsh annals that the day after the Normans and the recreant Welshmen of Pembrokeshire left their ships at Porth Ceri, immense rocks there fell from the hanging cliffs into the open sea. The incidents suggest the Glamorgans had prepared that fall of rocks so as to deal with the invaders, as the Greeks did the invading Persian army when it was approaching the Temple of Delphi, namely, rolled down the rocks upon them, crushing 30,000 to death.

But at Porth Ceri the rocks were a day too late in falling ! A real calamity to Wales. What followed the discovery Rhys had now made of the gathering confederacy against him was a race having for its objective Glamorgan and Cardiff first.

But unfortunately the Norman and their allies reached first, no doubt to the no little relief of King Jestyn and his family. Rhys had made a short cut across the Black Mountains of co. Brecon and descending south into the Cynon, otherwise Aberdar Valley, which enters the Taff some miles lower down at right angles, when Rhys learned, apparently for the first time, that Fitzhamon, Cedrych, and Einion had already reached Cardiff, and there shielded Jestyn as much from his own subjects as from him. Rhys took up his quarters at a farmhouse between Aberdar and

Penderyn. The farmhouse is still called Llety Rhys, or "Rhys' Quarters." Rhys now bivouacked his army on the rising ground at the top of Hirwaun Common, a spot commanding a full view of two miles of plain in front, with Aberdar at the bottom on the slope, which dips down into the Cynon Valley. Each side of the Common is flanked by mountains on the eastern side some considerable distance from the Common, while the western side rises abruptly from the Common itself. In the rear behind the right wing of Rhys' army were the deep rugged gorges of Rhegoes, running westwardly into the Vale of Neath, which passes its mouth at right angles. At the eastern end, nearest Hirwaun Common, top of Rhegoes, is a lofty ridge, which divides Rhegoes from the top of the Rhondda Valley, with the parish road from Hirwaun and Rhegoes running over it. This road upon the ridge is to this day, in allusion to Rhys' retreat into it, called Bwlch y Lladron, or the "Gap of the Robbers." On the top of the eastern flank of the side of the Rhondda, high up from here athwart it, is the road down to the Rhondda Valley, Cwm Rhys Bren farmhouse, or the Dale House of Rhys Tudor the king. This is now corrupted to "Cwmsaebren."

Meanwhile, the halt of the consummate general, King Rhys Tudor, became known at Cardiff Castle. There were two reasons why Rhys did not now make his intended rush upon Cardiff, which seems to have been part of his plan of action, judging by his crossing, by a rapid march, the Black Mountains. First, his army required rest; the second reason was, that running down to Cardiff are two valleys in parallel lines, with mountains between them. Those are the Taff and the Rumney (Caerphilly) Valleys; and there was the probability the enemy, while he (Rhys) passed down one valley, might pass up the other, and thereby get behind him, while another force from Cardiff faced his front. It appears that it was wisely seen by Rhys that, owing to having trained soldiers opposed to him at Cardiff, his wisest course was to keep his army in undivided strength on the high ground commanding a full view of the whole of Hirwaun Plain to Aberdar, a town

sloping down opposite to him towards the Cynon Valley. The enemy would not leave either of the two said valleys from Cardiff open to Rhys, therefore the Norman army must have marched up the Taff to the mouth of the Aberdare-Cynon Valley, and the Western Wales division up by way of Caerphilly, and at Quakers' Yard, turning to the left, reached the agreed-upon rendezvous at the entrance into the Cynon Glen, then march together up to the bottom end of Hirwaun Common, from which they saw the red banner of Rhys on the uplands at the upper end, where he himself was seated on the back of his charger. The spot is still named Twyn Rhys—*i.e.* Rhys' Hill top.

Einion and Cedrych claimed of Fitzhamon the honour of leading the van of the attack upon Rhys. They had, by their former attacks upon Rhys—made, it appears, without receiving provocation—lost so many near relatives and friends, that they were now eager for revenge. The wily Norman, smilingly no doubt, granted the request of the wretched pair of them. We are not told who commenced hostilities, but it seems probable that Cedrych and Einion's 3000 men marched up towards the position of Rhys; that the fight was of the most desperate description, and to this day the bottom end of the Common bears the significant name, Y Twyn Coch, or "The Crimson Hill," called "Hill" in allusion to its rise from the Cynon Valley behind the allies. It seems from the position of this spot and the special descriptive name given to it, that Rhys' army had rolled back the enemy along the entire length of the Common, and were on the eve of sending them helter-skelter in disorder back down into the Cynon Valley, when something happened which had the effect of paralysing Rhys' army.

Rhys' two sons, Lord Goronwy and Lord Cynan, commanded under him, but Lord Goronwy now fell dead on, it seems, the Crimson Hill. The name seems to indicate it was there the desperate last struggle concentrated itself, and that it was at that critical moment heroic Goronwy fell, at the moment the Normans joined, and made a final stand in support of Cedrych and Einion, when their

further retirement and complete discomfiture seemed imminent. The army of Rhys became panic struck at Goronwy's fall, and then they began a disorganised retreat back up the Common, and eventually became a rabble rout.

Rhys who, it is said, was ninety-five years of age, appears to have sat on his war-horse on the heights at the top of the Common, from there commanding in chief, with aides-de-camp galloping between him and his gallant sons to and fro. The distance between the Crimson Hill and where he was, was too far for him to behold more than a wild movement at the opposite end, but the fact that the foe had fallen back so far before his sons and army gave him every reason to believe it would finally overthrow the allies. He must have been suddenly startled by witnessing his own forces retiring rapidly up in his own direction, pressed closely by the pursuing Normans wielding their swords and battle-axes, and who seem to have been the means which checked the falling back on the Cynon of Cedrych and Einion's men, who had chosen the van as already intimated. The Normans were comparatively fresh in charge of the base of the allied position. The slaughter is described as terrible; no doubt Rhys' Welshmen were made frantic by finding that those opposing them in their immediate front were Welshmen too. "When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug-of-war!"

We actually know the line of the flight of Rhys' army. It went headlong on the right of the place of their encampment on the night before, towards Bwlch y Lladron. We know that heroic aged Rhys and his surviving son Cynan, were in the midst of the fugitives. We glean from what took place afterwards, that father and son parted never to see each other more, on the ridge, where the road divides into two, one going down to the top of Rhegoes and the other down to the western top of Rhondda Valley with Caer Moesau's lofty ridge between the tops of the two valleys.

Cynan and those on horseback with him galloped westwardly into the Neath Valley, pursued by thundering Norman cavalry; and so close were they to the fugitives at Neath, that the latter made an attempt to proceed

west along the marshy ground between the town and Briton Ferry; in their hurry they galloped into a deep morass, and Lord Cynan and his companions perished in it. The spot has been known ever since by the name *Pwll Cynan*, or "Cynan's Pit." Had it been water only it would have been called *Llyn Cynan*, or "Cynan's Pool." We thus discover the nature of the spot where they and their horses disappeared from sight. Giraldus Cambrensis describes the dangerous spot in 1188.

We now return to venerable Rhys. We next find him occupying a shepherd's cot at the foot of mountains across the Rhondda Valley, about a mile from where he and his army had parted company on the above-mentioned saddle ridge. From this we infer that, on reaching the open at *Bwlch y Lladron*, he, in the midst of the retreat, before the pursuers came in sight, slipped from his horse, allowing it to continue with the retreating army, which would be the objective of the pursuing enemy.

Until 1856 the shepherd's hut stood there, and it bore the name *Ty Rhys ap Tewdwr*, or "Rhys, son of Tudor's House." All the farmers knew it by that name. It is obvious that, on the day following, an effort was made to commemorate the capture of Rhys, by naming that part of the valley "The Glen of King Rhys"; but the name eventually became fixed on the farmhouse on which the cot was situate, which had hitherto borne the name *Bwlch Gwyion*, a name which is still borne by the ravine exactly above the farmhouse, the Welsh name still for that part of the slope. It appears as if, when the captured aged king was being taken from the farmhouse down the valley, a party of natives met the captors, who had him in charge, bound, and sought to dissuade them from what they were obviously bent on doing, namely, deliver him up into the hands of King Jestyn, Fitzhamon, &c., who had come from the scene of the battle to the top of the ridge of *Pont y Rhondda*. By the side of the old parish road down the valley, and below the shepherd's cot and farmhouse, is a field called *Ynys-y-Beio*, or the "Field of Censuring." But the heroic old king, the "father of many kings to be,"

the ancestor of the Tudor dynasty, aye, of Henry VII., was delivered to the villain King Jestyn of Glamorgan, and he was instantly beheaded. The spot where his white head fell on the grass has ever since borne the name Pen Rhys, or "Rhys' Head."

It seems that Rhys, after leaving his charger, made himself appear as non-military-looking as possible, and that his first act with that view was to take off his helmet, and conceal it in some crevice among the high rocks on the left of the country road descending into the top of the Rhondda at Ty Newydd. This gave rise to the tradition, once rife among the old inhabitants of Ystrad-Dyvodwg farmers of Rhondda Valley, that the crown of South-west Wales was hidden in the Rhondda Valley.

Most remarkable it is that, about the year 1883, a labouring man named Morris, living near Libanus Chapel, Treherbert, while quarrying stones among the said rocks, discovered a beautifully wrought soldier's helmet in a hole there. The writer, many years later, consulted one of Morris's sons, who was present when it was discovered; but, alas! the helmet had then gone no one knew where!

A monastery and a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, a name which is still borne by a mineral well facing west, stand just below the ruins of the church. It is certain the altar of that church was placed on the exact spot where the beheading took place; strange to say, the only part of the ruined church now standing is the eastern gable, inside which the altar formerly stood. There cannot be much doubt that the ashes of this King of Demetia are underneath where that altar was. It appears by the fact that the hamlet bears the name "Home Pen Rhys," and that the monastery's mill below on the Rhondda was called "the Mill of the Home"; that it was long—about four centuries—the place where the local poor, before there was a poor rate, went for help in adversity. The old parishioners procured water from this holy well to christen their children with in the parish church up the valley. It was a wealthy monastery, with 800 acres of titheless land belonging to it, as is proved by the fact that,

associated with it, are that number of acres still in the hands of lay impropiators—that is to say, for which no tithes are paid, an exemption made in all monastic ecclesiastical freeholds. Mardy was the home of its bailiff in the adjacent valley. Down until within living memory, it was said that “noises” were heard at night at Pen Rhys, and the place was regarded with awe. Women curtsied and men bowed to the Virgin while passing that way.

Leland, in about 1540, informs us that Pen Rhys was “the place where the Pilgrimage was,” a way of stating it, as if sufficiently known everywhere to need no further particulars about it. Bishop Latimer told the Privy Council that “Our Lady of Pen Rhys” was “a witch,” deserving of “hell fire” ! He said the same of Our Ladies of Doncaster and Ipswich, each claiming to represent the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In about 1405, a celebrated Eisteddfod was held in a hollow on the right of the place where the Little Road (Heol Vach), ascending to the monastery, leaves the highway, running up and down the Rhondda Valley. The Chiar ode on that occasion had for its subject, “The Blessed Virgin Mary of Pen Rhys.” It can be seen in Iolo Morganwg’s *Cyfrinach y Beirdd*, p. 113. The spot is still called “Pant-y-Steddva.”

The following strange theological sentiments occur in one of its verses :—

“She is one of the vines of the Son-God of David ;
She is known far as the Mother of Joy ;
Mary set free the living and the dead.”

—(Verse viii.).

The bard was the Gorsedd bard, Gwilym Tew, A.D. 1405.

In 1907, the writer accompanied Lord Justice Vaughan-Williams, Lady Vaughan-Williams, and his late Honour Judge Gwilym Williams, Miskin Manor, to the place which is ever associated with the tragic beheading of King Rhys ap Tewdwr. The eminent Lord Justice, after his visit, alluding to the view of mountains rising in terraces behind each other, said, in London, “they appeared like steps ascending to heaven.”

CHAPTER XXIX

KING RHYS' DEATH—HE RETURNS NO MORE

SOME swift messenger reached Dinevor Castle with tidings of the awful disaster before the pursuers of Cynan and the rest reached it; for Rhys' young Queen, and Prince Gruffyth, her little baby boy, made good their escape, and, going on board ship, sailed for Ireland, and both reached her father's (the King of Dublin) palace in safety. Lady Nesta, his lovely daughter, stayed behind therefore voluntarily. The queen would have doubtless done likewise but for the mortal peril to her little son, Prince Gruffyth, now his late father's heir, since the death of Prince Goronwy on the field of battle. Cynan, it will be remembered, was of the bar sinister; and Howel—perhaps insane—does not seem somehow to be in the reckoning at all. It is not likely the earliest messenger knew what had happened to the king; all he could say, doubtless, was the king had let his horse go riderless with the retreat.

Fair Princess Nesta was a Tudor of purest blood, and a descendant of the most ancient Kings of Britain. Her ancestors had commanded against the Cæsars at the dawn of Christianity. One can, in fancy, almost see her with streaming eyes high on the battlements of Dinevor Castle, peering in the direction of Cynan Castle, hoping against hope, to see her royal sire cantering home with flaxen locks from the disaster. But alas! he returned no more to royal Dinevor! One's thoughts fly over the mountains to the tragedy of Pen Rhys:—

“His beard was white as snow;
All flaxen was his poll.”

We are told Bleddyn of Powys, her relative, captured Princess Nesta, now both motherless and fatherless; and

we next hear of her as a captive at Cardiff Castle. She was there, no doubt, introduced to the gallant young Norman knights, with Sir Robert Fitzhamon at their head. Lady Sibyl Fitzhamon could not have then arrived. Nesta's extraordinary beauty and cultured refinement of manners must have produced a sensation. Prince Henry, afterwards Henry I., arrived, and soon warned off the young knights. Hume says that even the Princess Matilda, the daughter of Henry I., was in days later obliged to don the costume of a nun, in order "to protect her chastity from the brutal violence of the Normans, which costume, amidst the horrible licentiousness of the times, was yet generally revered."

In about A.D. 1090 Princess Nesta gave birth in the Lion Tower, Cardiff Castle, to a son by Prince Henry, and afterwards another son, Henry,¹ named after his father. The name Robert was given to the elder at the font, doubtless in compliment to Sir Robert Fitzhamon, or Robert, Duke of Normandy. It was this baby, after he had grown up, who married Lady Mably Fitzhamon.

Twyn Colwyn, "The Golden Mile," now Colwinston.—Wales is teeming with monumental place-names, touching either characteristic references to landscape views, or great events, or notable men. The name Colwyn, or perhaps originally Coelwen, signifying "Holy Faith," is a personal name of great interest. The Hill of Colwyn is one of two names given to the mile or so of high ground through which the king's highway, between Bridgend and Cowbridge, runs, the road rising from the direction of Bridgend and descending towards Cowbridge. The other name it bears is, "The Golden Mile." Now, who was Colwyn? He must have been a notable individual to have a prominent hill called after him. We were at first inclined to believe that it meant Collwyn, the name of the father of Einion so often mentioned. But we discovered who he was, and the name Coelwen, or "Holy Faith," has in it something to remind us of Bran the Blessed's aptitude in coining personal names.

¹ Giraldus' *Itinerary*, chap. vii. p. 122. Dent's ed.

In the Bardic Triads Co'lwyn is described as the principal shepherd of King Llyr II. (Lear), King of Gwent and Glamorgan, father of Bran, and grandfather of Caractacus. In old Welsh, a shepherd is called Deveydydd, which comes very near in meaning to the English name sheep-herder. The Triads say that he had under him 300 sheep shearers, each in charge of 120,000 sheep (*Myvyrian*, vol. ii. p. 71). Each man was called a Gwesyn, a Garçon, now Gwas. The village on the south of Twyn Co'lwyn is still called Tre Co'lwyn, or "Co'lwyn's Home."

Llyr, or Lear, was a descendant of the King Lear of Geffrey's romance, from whose "Histories" of the Kings of Britain Shakespeare obtained materials for his immortal drama of King Lear. Readers of the immortal bard's compositions cannot fail here to have a fresh glimpse of King Lear in prosperity among a million of sheep in Glamorgan. Now, the other name of the same hill, "The Golden Mile," is in allusion to the circumstance that it was there Fitzhamon, his twelve knights, and his army encamped on their return from Neath after their pursuit of Rhys' beaten army, and there Jestyn paid them in gold for the service they had rendered in destroying heroic Rhys. According to the monk-writer of the Latin version of the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 179, 491, it is stated in the life of Sancti Illuti that here is a place called *Aureus Mons*, or "Golden Mountain," lyingly, alleging it was so called in the time of King Edgar, who departed this life in A.D. 971.

In writing his novel, the monk takes hold of this local tradition in his time (*d.* 1153), and inserts it as applying to the time of Edgar, instead of to A.D. 1088, and the time of King William Rufus or Red. The monk states correctly that the "Aureus Mons" was a name in allusion to "an army there assembled, glittering with golden cloths and armour." But the local name Milldir, or "Mile," describes the mile length of the Norman army on that plateau in 1088. The monk appears to have substituted "mount" for "mile;" perhaps, owing to having but an imperfect knowledge of the native language.

Then the monk introduces a nonsensical story about a

horse having the bell of St. Illtyd's Abbey fastened to its neck, galloping back from King Edgar and England for the home of the sacred bell! and all horses, hearing the ringing of the bell, galloping after the horse bearing it; and, after passing through Cowbridge, all the horses rested that night on the Aureus Mons, or the "Golden Mountain." The following morning, the horse with the bell leading, they proceeded in processional order towards the Abbey of St. Illtyd's; and, the moment its door was reached, the cord holding the bell to the horse's neck snapped, and the bell fell on the stones, and its contact with the stones made its edge jagged. This was done to it as manufactured evidence!

It appears so to this day, as the author saw after climbing to examine it on the top of the present Llantwit town hall. Around the bell is a scroll with the words on it, "Ora pro nobis, Illuti," "Pray for us, Illtyd."

In the church, on the bosses on the angles beneath the roof, are still seen carved the shields of the Norman knights.

An Important Historical Clue.—The late George T. Clark, Tal Y Garn, Glamorgan, a learned writer, disbelieved the statements made by Sir E. Mansel, Margam Park, and the Stradlings, St. Donats Castle, touching the coming of the Normans into Glamorgan as the consequence of quarrels between the Kimmerian leaders. Mr. Clark suffered under disqualification to write Welsh history, because he was totally ignorant of the native language, and, therefore, he could not read the native Chronicles in the vernacular; and those other monumental records, Welsh place-names, were dumb to him. Those authors against whom Mr. Clark levels his shaft were evidently masters of Welsh. Mr. Clark, starting from his unwarrantable basis, alleges that all preceding writers on the subject, after the years 1578 and 1595, are spurious productions!

We alighted upon the name "Aureus Mons" (Golden Mount) in the History of St. Illtyd in the work on *The Cambro-British Saints*. The translator of the Latin text was the Rev. W. J. Rees, M.A., rector of Gascob, co.

Radnor. We wrote to Dr. Edward Scott, Chief of the MSS. Department at the British Museum, touching the originals, and the following is his reply :—

[*Vita Illuti.*]

“The reference to Vespasian A. IV. is incorrect. Apparently it should be Vespasian A. XIV., which contains at folio 436 S.I. a Latin Life of St. Illtyd. This MS. has no date, but it is evidently of *circa* 1200 A.D., or slightly earlier.”

Geffrey died at Llandaff in A.D. 1153.

Here, then, we have a distinct reference to the Golden Mile, or Mount, made somewhere between three and four centuries before Mansel, Stradling, and Rice Merrick wrote. We know that at the very time the Life of St. Illtyd, now at the British Museum, was written, Norman-French monks, including Welsh Geffrey of Llandaff, were using their pens to indite fables to cover over the genuine tracks, both ecclesiastical and civil, in the ancient records of Wales. The whole post-Augustine foundation of the Anglican monk's history of the Church in Wales is a pious fraud, and the civil history, being mixed up with it, became largely fraudulent also.

CHAPTER XXX

THE SEVERN VALLEY—GLAMORGAN OCCUPIED BY NORMANS, A.D. 1088

To the Golden Mile, Tre Co'lwyn, rode King Jestyn and his escort of a beggarly three hundred. There he met the Norman knights. Doubtless with the king rode Sir Robert Fitzhamon and other knights from the bloody heights of Pen Rhys. There the king, with a face most wry-mouthed, had to part with much gold in payment to the strangers. The wretched Jestyn was never happy after and quarrelled with every one, especially with Einion and Cedrych, whom now that he had killed Rhys, he regarded as responsible for the enormous outlay in gold the result had loaded him with. Villains after their success always hate the instruments they employ to attain their success in evil. Instead of blaming himself, Jestyn now behaved like a boar towards all, but Einion especially. Here are the roots of the old king's quarrel with Einion. All must have deplored some arrow had not laid the old roué low that day on Hirwaun Common!

It will be recollected that the Normans disembarked from Bristol at Porth Ceri, west of the present Barry Docks. It appears strange that in their return from the Golden Mile the Normans did not re-embark where they had landed. It thus appears that only the presence of the troops from West Wales, under Einion and Cedrych, and the few troops with the king himself, prevented them on this return march from taking Glamorgan there and then, and capturing the old king and his sons, Cardiff and its castle. But perhaps the fallen crags were in the way. The Norman knights had had a fine view of the broad and rich Campania from the top of the Golden Mile, and

the beggarly escort of the king must have convinced them as to his unpopularity with his own subjects and made it easy.

Now, less than three years before this, Sir Robert had received from King William Rufus the honour of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, &c. It was perhaps natural that he should now desire to give at his newly-acquired manors an exhibition of his power; and that desire decided him to take his victorious followers there, before disbanding them and sending them home. The nearness of Gloucester naturally decided Fitzhamon to proceed thither by easy marches rather than go by sea from Cardiff, with the possibility of being detained in the Severn by contrary winds.

A Fresh Quarrel between the Welsh Chiefs.—As soon as the Normans departed from Cardiff, Einion naturally applied for his promised reward to King Jestyn, namely, the hand in marriage of Princess Nesta, King Jestyn's daughter, by his second wife. With characteristic perfidy Jestyn laughed him to scorn and flatly refused. It appears probable Jestyn was still chafing under a sense of keen annoyance at the enormous cost he had to pay out of his treasury to the Normans; and now King Rhys being out of the way and the Normans gone, he thought he could snap his fingers in derision of all his foes and friends. The followers of both Cedrych and Einion must have been decimated in the late battle with their brother Welshmen. History states that "one half of them had fallen then" at Hirwaun Common.

We learn that both Einion and Cedrych now consulted other chiefs; among other Glamorgan leaders, aged Lord Robert Seisyllt, Beaupre, Cowbridge, who had long entertained resentment against King Jestyn, owing to the affair with his daughter, Lady Ardden, mentioned before. It is recorded that Einion hurried after the Normans and overtook them at Pwll Meirig, or "Meirig's Pool," a mile west of Chepstow. They instantly halted and Einion related to Sir Robert Fitzhamon the particulars respecting the old king's perfidious behaviour. Here were the very circum-

stances the Normans desired, viz., a quarrel between Einion, Cedrych, and Jestyn, and the consequent withdrawal from the king of their active support. Einion, and doubtless Cedrych also, invited the Normans to return to Cardiff immediately. It was acceded to with alacrity, and "right about face," in Norman-French, was called out to the astonished Norman troops, and the return march was entered upon. Alas! they were now going back to stay some centuries!

Sir Robert accompanied Einion and Cedrych into Cardiff Castle, and there endeavoured to induce the old king to act honourably. No, the old tiger's back was up, and he did nothing but whine and show his teeth. It appears that the moment they withdrew from his presence, the gates of the castle wards were shut after them, and the walls were manned. This exasperated all, Einion in particular, and, taking his own troops with him, he made a dash for Denis Powys Castle, thinking the king was now hiding there, and he (Einion) knocked it to pieces. (Rice Merrick, p. 23.) It appears that now the Normans were, so far, mere spectators. But many in Glamorgan had sufficient penetration to discern the threatened danger, and they now hurried to the king's assistance on account of the common peril to Glamorgan liberty, and not from the slightest sympathy with the king personally.

It was soon seen that the Normans and Einion and Cedrych's forces, who were, though Welshmen, strangers to Glamorgan, were in league. The position taken up by the Glamorgan supporters, indicate that now fresh Glamorgan forces came racing down the hills towards Cardiff. They encamped on the east hillside of Cardiff Castle in order of battle. But the news now came to them that King Jestyn had been slain. An invented story intended to perplex the Glamorgans.

Rice Merrick's *Morganæ*, p. 24, written in A.D. 1578, referring to the sudden and totally unexpected turn-about-face of Fitzhamon and his Norman followers and the seizing of the whole of the plains of Glamorgan by them, states as follows:—

“The rumour of the death of Jestyn and the invasion (of the said plains) by the warriors (of Fitzhamon), ran together. That left the natives aghast with alarm, and being suddenly and unexpectedly assailed, the Glamorgans had no time to provide resistance to so great a multitude of armed men, by whom they were overwhelmed. Some were taken by the enemy; others preferred to die rather than yield and forsake their ancient estates and rich lands. They sold their lives as dear as they could, and they were soon no more. Others, leaving their lands and treasures to the strangers, taking with them their wives and children, retired to the forests and desert places of refuge, to save their lives from the violence of the Normans.” Thus the natives of Glamorgan were caught in the toils unawares, the result of holding back from the king because of his evil life.

It will be noticed that Merrick’s statement applies only to the inhabitants of the broad plains bordering the Severn, and that he does not allude to the inhabitants of the hills and valleys of Glamorgan, by far the most hardy of the population. They were the fresh troops which had now arrived near Cardiff, and in order of battle stationed themselves on Mynydd Bach, north-east of the castle, near where the Cardiff barracks are at present. They beheld the troops of Cedrych and Fitzhamon between them and the Taff River in the right rear of the castle. Einion and what remained of his thousand men, it will be remembered, had gone to Denis Powys in quest of the king. It was soon ascertained by them on the hillside that the king was still alive. They had descended with arms to defend the sovereignty of Glamorgan, and not the king. After some brief outpost actions, the hillmen of Glamorgan departed through Roath—the Rhath—crossed the Rumney River into Gwent, otherwise co. Monmouth, and left the king to settle as well as he could with the Normans and Cedrych and Einion—“the strangers.” It was a fatal error on their part. We learn that before Einion’s return from Denis Powys, Fitzhamon took matters into his own hands, and when Einion did return, he, to his dismay, found the

Normans, 3000 strong, had vanquished Cedrych, and the liberty of Glamorgan was a thing of the past! Cedrych must have been assailed after the retreat of the hillmen to county Monmouth.

It appears it was now that many soldiers of fortune left their Norman comrades at Cardiff and spread rapidly over the Vale of Glamorgan, &c., killing and robbing wherever they were able. Fitzhamon himself manned Cardiff Castle. The aged king was never seen after he hurried Einion, Cedrych, and Fitzhamon out of his presence a few days before.

Gruffyth, the son of Rhydderch (killed in 1031), was now Regulus of Gwent. The Welsh Chronicle now states as follows: "Gruffyth, son of Rhydderch, son of King Jestyn, gathered a great army of the men who had gone away *from the strangers*"—both Normans and those from West Wales were so designated by the men of Glamorgan—"and guarded Caerleon-on-Usk and the country of Gwent; and they there fortified themselves against the 'strangers.' And Caradoc, the son of Gruffyth, became Prince of Gwent and Gwynllwg, and strengthened Caerleon-on-Usk, which had hitherto been the principal place of the sovereigns of Glamorgan and Gwent." All this implies that Gruffyth was now (1088) so stricken with age, that his son Caradoc was placed, instead of himself, in supreme command. The intention of the Glamorgan army, now commanded by Prince Caradoc, was to leave the "strangers" at Cardiff to tear each other to pieces. But the Normans were too wise for that. They coaxed Einion and Cedrych and Jestyn's sons, by giving them lands in Glamorgan.

Six years later (1094) the whole of South Wales rose in one night among the hills, and endeavoured to undo the result of their own folly, by attempting to sweep down on the "strangers," from the river Neath to the Wye, to expel and slay them all, as the Saxons did the Danes. They slew in all directions, but later, after Fitzhamon had granted them, under Turberville, Coety Castle, the retention of their own laws and the restoration of their lands, subject to pay-

ing to Norman petty chiefs a chief rent, they gave up the struggle—anything rather than Jestyn and his sons!

Then came the division of Glamorgan among Sir Robert Fitzhamon and his twelve knights, and the marriage of Einion to Princess Nesta, allotting to them Llantrisant Castle and town—then named Maes Gwyn—and the mountainous regions of Glamorgan, including Senghenydd (Caiach Higher and Lower), which became as a sort of small buffer state between the Welshmen of the mountains and the rich vale or campania of Glamorgan occupied by the Normans. There are at present to be seen the ruins of forty castles in and on the borders of that campania, all to be seen from a spot near Llantwit Major, and seventy villages, still flourishing. (Vide *Iolo Morganwg* and Clark's *Land of Morgan*.)

It appears that Sir Robert Fitzhamon did not discard the ancient localities where, under the former native rulers, State affairs had been transacted from time immemorial. Further, that the local public magnates of the county were, in inland localities, left undisturbed, and their respective courts were carried on as usual in the native tongue, and the laws of Glamorgan were respected, viz., those of Howel the Good, which were also the laws of all other parts of Wales, which came to be called "Welsh" Wales; whereas the localities into which the laws of the Marches were thrust were named by the qualification "Anglia" or "Saesnig" by the native Kimmri. An Englishman is still universally called "Sais" in Wales, when the natives speak their native tongue. Englishmen are called "Saeson," and "Gwyr Saesnig," the last being an adjective. During the earlier times, after the Norman Conquest of England in A.D. 1066, the natives of Wales called the Normans "Francod." They always called the Danes the "Swarthy Men," literally Gwyr Duon.

It appears that the former Phœnicians were anciently called "Paluciaid," The name "Sais" and "Saeson" were names given from the earliest times to the Saxon and Saxons generally; and by degrees, as the Norman nation became absorbed, the name "Franc" and "Francod" for Norman

and Normans was dropped, and all dwelling in England came to be known in Wales, as they do still, under the name "Saeson." But down to the last appearance of Normans in the counties of Glamorgan, and the Marches of Wales generally, the Normans continued to be designated "Franc" and "Francod. Rats are still called in South Wales, "Mice of the Francod," or "Llygod Frengig." One is uncertain, from the fact that the last is an adjective, that the name was not given in derision to the Normans themselves, in allusion to their depredations among the crops of the natives. The name, literally translated, is "Frenchy Mice."

In the distribution of the estates in the lowlands of Glamorgan, *circa* A.D. 1090, we find some of those estates called "Rial" or "Royal." Those were the estates awarded to the sons of the late King Jestyn. It appears that those were exempted from paying chief rent to Sir Robert Fitzhamon, as Lord Paramount under the King of England. It appears, also, that the hilly parts of Glamorgan allotted to Einion ap Collwyn and Princess Nesta, daughter of the late native King of Glamorgan, also had their lands, like the brothers, under royal tenure. Thus Fitzhamon sought to ameliorate the anger of the native leaders as much as possible in the face of the loss and general humiliation. The other most important element, favouring the Norman, was the deep resentment of all natives, not only in Glamorgan, but in all Wales, against the late King Jestyn; a feeling which evidently extended also to several of his sons, so that not a finger would be raised to aid them against the Normans.

This resentment lasted till 1094. By that time the Normans had so much provoked the natives, that, as stated already, all South Wales rose in arms, from the Neath River to the Wye River. They descended from the hills like a crescent, with the two horns towards the lowlands. The men of Glamorgan were led by Sir Payne de Turberville, Coety Castle, who had married Lady Sara, daughter of Lord Meirig ap Gruffyth Jestyn, son of the late King Jestyn, who was heiress after her father—who stepped

aside in favour of his daughter—under the native laws, of the lordship of Coety; and Sir Payne, having already a grudge against Fitzhamon, became, under the influence of his Glamorgan lady and her noble father, a fiery Welshman himself. (*Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 526.) It appears that during those six years many of the dispossessed Welsh landlords in the lowlands of Glamorgan had built for themselves bungalows in the then many great thick forests among the hills of Glamorgan, and dwelt there.

In 1094, as reinforcements were hurrying towards Cardiff from Gloucester and Tewkesbury, they ascertained that a great force of Welshmen were on the hills above Caerphilly and had conquered one Norman division. They dared not leave that force in their rear, and they attacked them twice, the last time near Gelligaer Church, and in both battles the Welsh were victorious, and the survivors raced back over the Wye, the Welsh in full fury after them. The *Brut* states the invaders were mauled terribly. It was later discovered that the following Norman leaders were lying “on the mountain cold,” namely, the Earl of Gloucester, Earl Arundel, Lord Arnold Harcourt, Lord Neol Vegnote, and other notables.

At this moment Prince Henry, afterwards Henry I., son of William the Conqueror, was within Cardiff Castle, when beautiful Nesta, daughter of King Rhys ap Tudor, Dinevor Castle—who, six years before, had been beheaded at Pen Rhys, Rhondda Valley, by order of King Jestyn—was at Cardiff Castle, now besieged by other angry Welshmen. It is certain that all the Norman lords of the Vale of Glamorgan were also now within Cardiff Castle, having bolted before the avalanche of hillmen, and to rally around their chief lord Fitzhamon. It was a critical moment for the Normans, whose hoped-for succour had been defeated at Gelligaer. We find elsewhere that, according to one authority, Sir Payne struck Fitzhamon senseless with his iron gauntlet. But another statement is doubtless the correct one, namely, that a Glamorgan soldier, seeing Fitzhamon within the castle grounds, hurled

a stone at him, striking him senseless. Then we are told Prince Henry went to the summit of the keep and from there conversed with Sir Payne outside in the open. The result of the conversation was that "afterwards the men of Glamorgan had their lands restored to them in quietude." (*Myvyrian Archæology*, vol. i. p. 530.) The royal lordships mentioned were the following: Coety, Newcastle, Court Coleman, Llantrithyd, part of Rhuthyn, Pentyrch, Aber-avan, and Solva (now Resolven). In these courts native Glamorgan lords ruled. From those willow cabins among the silent hills, others watched the Normans disporting themselves over their lost estates.

A good story is related in the Iolo MS. touching Fitzhamon and one of the dispossessed Welsh landlords. One day in the country, doubtless starting from Cardiff Castle, a meet of the Fitzhamon hounds took place. Soon the quarry was afoot and the hounds in full cry. In the excitement of the chase, Sir Robert Fitzhamon became isolated from the field of Norman horsemen, and his horse stumbled and fell, Fitzhamon fracturing one of his legs. When he was lying helpless on the ground, to his dismay he beheld one of the Welsh landlords whom he had deprived of his lands coming out of the green forest towards him. The Norman naturally expected instant death. But the gallant Glamorgan landlord, instead of slaying him, proceeded to examine the Norman's injuries, and he then set the fractured limb, and that being accomplished, he assisted Fitzhamon to his horse, and then led him to his willow cabin in the thick green woods. He was taken care of and tenderly nursed by the Gwenies of the willow cabin until he was fit to be removed. When the day came for him to go back to Cardiff Castle, Fitzhamon, in the midst no doubt of many Norman knights come to escort him home, asked the generous Welshman, "Why he had not slain him (Fitzhamon) who had done him so much injury?" The Glamorgan worthy replied, doubtless in the Norman-French he had acquired at the University of Bangor Illtud, "Ah," said the Welshman with a smile, "I found your lordship defenceless on the ground, and no Welsh-

man ever strikes a man when he is down." It was a splendid lesson, and a most valuable illustration as to the character of the men and women of Glamorgan in those far-off days. So pleased was Fitzhamon, a relative of William the Conqueror, that he restored to the Welshman all his ancient possessions. It is clear, by subsequent events, it was not that Welsh landlord alone who now had his lands restored to him. The natives of Glamorgan could not fail to commemorate the incident by giving to the spot of Fitzhamon's fall a commemorative name. Sure enough, a few miles to the west of Cardiff, where the highway passes over the hill in the direction of Bonvillston, is a spot bearing the curious name, "Tumbledown Dick." "Dick" is clearly an addition to form an amusing alliterative sound, of which the natives have always been fond. There is a name exactly like it on the southern border of Pontypridd, and generally known. Doubtless "Tumbledown Dick," near Cardiff, and within view of the castle, is the spot where Sir Robert Fitzhamon broke his leg.

In the following petty lordships the Norman chief himself held : Llanharan, Llys tal Y Bont, Roath, Llechwith, Llantwit Major, Boverton, and Llanmes. Those go among the Welsh under the name Tir-yr-Iarl ("the Earl's Land") to this day. It is recorded that the annual court—corrupted to "Anwyl" Day in the locality—was held at the Shire Hall, Llantwit Major, to the time it was burnt down by Owen Glyndwr, about 1403 or 1405. This court constituted a Court of Appeal from all the petty courts under Norman sway. Subsequently this Court of Appeal was held at Cardiff Castle. It appears that the courts of Maes Gwyn (Llantrisant), Glyn y Rhondda, Caiach Higher and Lower (Caerphilly), were subject to Einion ap Collwyn's authority. It seems that Cedrych received a private estate near Caerphilly in addition to the ancient estates there in the time of Lord Gwaithvoed, his fearless ancestor, ancestor also of Oliver Cromwell *alias* Williams, *d.* Sept. 3, 1658, and John Hampden, *d.* June 24, 1643.

CHAPTER XXXI

PRINCESS NESTA DE WINDSOR, *née* TUDOR

OWEN CADWGAN TO THE RESCUE

THE gay Lothario, Henry I., made a present of Princess Nesta, the beautiful daughter of King Rhys ap Tudor, to Lord Gerald de Windsor, his lieutenant at Pembroke Castle. Practically she had been to all appearance a captive since the tragic death of her venerable father at Pen Rhys, Ystrad Dyvodwg, in 1088—it was now 1107—when, at Dinevor Castle, she was captured by aged Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, Powys; a fact indicating that Powys had assisted at the battle of Hirwaun, so disastrous to King Rhys and his two sons, Goronwy and Cynan. Her detention by Henry I., and his callous transference of her to Gerald de Windsor, must have been witnessed with great indignation by all Wales, and especially by her late father's subjects in West Wales.

Cadwgan, of Cardigan Castle, was Princess Nesta's relative, both being the descendants of two sisters, one, her grandmother, having married Tudor Mawr, her grandfather, *d.* 993; and the other married Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, father of Cadwgan already mentioned. Cadwgan had a young son named Owen, therefore Princess Nesta de Windsor was his great aunt, now middle-aged. Princess Nesta, doubtless with her husband, went to a high entertainment—doubtless it was what is now called an Eisteddvod—given by Cadwgan, of Powys, at Cardigan Castle at Christmas 1107. Nesta was still in her prime and royal beauty. That she was eminently beautiful we have the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis (1188), her grandson, his mother being Angharad, the daughter of

Gerald de Windsor and Nesta—Angharad who married William de Barri of Manordebar Castle, near Tenby, then called Dinburch y Pysgod. Giraldus was remarkable for his good looks—so much so, that one said of him, “is it possible that one of such manly beauty can die?”—and Giraldus states that his good looks had probably been inherited by him from Princess Nesta, his grandmother. Now, there must have been a sensitive chord in the family of Bleddyn, touching the fact it was he, the grandfather of Owen Cadwgan, had been the old rascal who had taken Nesta captive, and handed her over to the Norman Fitzhamon at Cardiff Castle. Generous young Owen, with the down still on his lip, must have chafed under a sense of dire shame at what his charming relative had undergone (1088) by the instrumentality of Bleddyn his grandfather, nineteen years before. He saw her at the entertainment mentioned, as if the captive now of another hated Norman, Gerald de Windsor. He hardly thought she was even now a free agent; and with the reckless generosity of youth Owen decided, come what might, he would set her free, as a contrast to his grandfather’s perfidy. The Pembroke family returned home, no doubt in those dangerous days attended by an escort of horsemen, supposed by Owen to be her guards as semi-captive.

A few days later, Owen made a call at Pembroke Castle. Perhaps she was not able to receive him; and if that was the case, it must have exasperated Owen the more. Owen, during his visit, eyed the defences of Pembroke Castle, and decided upon a plan to capture Gerald de Windsor, and carry off his beautiful aunt, aged forty. Owen Cadwgan, and, it seems, many others, proceeded in the darkness, when all, including De Windsor and his lady, had retired to rest, and then, opposite the chief entrance into the castle, they silently dug a trench. Then setting fire to some out-houses, the crackling fire, smoke, and hubbub, roused the castle and its lord and lady. As had been anticipated, Gerald made for the portal, intending to open it and rush out to inquire what was the matter. Had he done so, he

would have tumbled into the trench Owen had prepared for his reception. But, apparently to the great surprise of Owen, Nesta was heard calling out in Norman-French, warning him not to go out in that direction, and then, as was afterwards ascertained, urged him to escape down through the W.C. (Y Geudy in Welsh). This the proud knight did. Then Owen and his companions somehow—doubtless they smashed open the door—entered the castle, and found Nesta and her children, one being a child of the bar sinister, which Gerald had had by some woman not mentioned. Nesta and they were carried away, swiftly no doubt, lest Gerald, in deshabelle, would reappear with assistance. It was Christmas season, 1107. The wonder is the castle had no guards to protect it. Nesta soon discovered it was her rescue from supposed captivity that was the intention of Owen. Then she requested Owen to send back the children at once, and he did so. And soon the hue and cry was raised by all the country. But after Owen discovered Nesta really did not desire to be rescued, she also was returned to Gerald de Windsor.¹

Meanwhile King Henry I. heard of the great indignity his lord-lieutenant of Pembroke Castle had endured, and he sent Richard Beauvys, surnamed the Red, or Rufus, who was Bishop of London and Warden of the Marches of Wales, to Shrewsbury to organise Welshmen to capture Owen and Cadwgan his father. Both, however, escaped to Ireland from Aberdovey. Two cousins of Owen, namely, Ithel and Madoc, sons of Rhiryd, brother of Cadwgan, and one Uchtryd, were after them. But it appears the cousins had perfect knowledge as to what was the real motive of Owen in liberating Nesta, and they were soon making it hot for one Trehaiarn, who appears, however, to have been acting honestly.

¹ Touching the attack by Owen Cadwgan upon Pembroke Castle and setting Princess Nesta at liberty, the pure motive of Owen is asserted by the compiler of the very ancient *Brut*, in the words of the chronicler, that "he was prompted by the Almighty." The words in the original are: "Ac wedi hyny, o annog Duw," &c. (*Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 406). Historians in the past have described Owen's conduct as most reprehensible. Woodward designates him "ravisher!"

Cadwgan found means from Ireland to convince Henry I. that he was innocent of what his son had done, and he was allowed to return home. Doubtless Nesta sent to the king herself explaining what were Owen's real motives, and he too was permitted to return home. Two things prove to the hilt that the affair became a laughing matter among both Normans and Welsh, namely, that Henry I. received Owen and made him a knight, and took him with him to Normandy; but, above all, we find Owen, six years later, on most friendly terms with the great Earl Robert Fitzroy, Nesta's celebrated son by Henry I. But Gerald never forgave the indignity of that night in his nightshirt, about which he must have been chaffed by the king and his boon companions in Norman-French. It will be seen later that, in 1114, Owen was killed by an arrow shot by Gerald de Windsor. All writers we have met with suppose Owen sought to make a concubine of his aunt, aged forty. This illustrates how the history of Wales has been written. Touching the arrow bolt which killed Owen, Owen was engaged at the time, at the direct instigation of Henry I., who had won him over, in endeavouring to capture Prince Gruffyth Rhys Tudor, Nesta's half-brother.

Cadwgan was assassinated by Madoc at Welshpool in 1110. This tragic death of Cadwgan at the hands of Madoc in the streets of Welshpool, leaves room to suspect that Cadwgan knew that Madoc had really acted deliberately against him and Owen in the late affair; and that the quarrel with Uchtryd was because Cadwgan had sought to frustrate the villainous designs of the three. It appears that Cadwgan had at Welshpool commenced to reprimand Madoc for his late behaviour, when the latter, before Cadwgan suspected violence, drew his sword and ran him through, before he had time to draw his own weapon.

It will be seen later that, after the death of Gerald de Windsor, Nesta married Sir Robert Fitzstephen, governor of Cardigan Castle, which was subsequent to the death of Owen Cadwgan in 1114. Taking everything into consideration, we see that Nesta at the time of her father's

death and her own capture in 1088, was under twenty at the time she met Prince Henry at Cardiff Castle. She had several children by Sir Robert Fitzstephen, and that fact enables us to infer approximately her age when De Windsor died. It seems she had been some time married to Gerald de Windsor when he was appointed governor of Pembroke Castle. We think we can discern the operation of Henry's subtle mind in thus sending the daughter of the late King Rhys to West Wales among her own people, her late father's subjects. It was to them like sending back home the exiled old royal family, and doubtless Nesta's presence there greatly modified the influence of Prince Gruffyth, her half-brother, and Princess Gwenllian. The presence of Nesta at the Eisteddvod at Cardigan Castle, although attended by her husband, in the Christmas holidays in 1107, indicates the pacifical influence her presence in Pembrokeshire exercised upon all parties there and throughout West Wales. Her son, young Robert Fitzroy, quartered at Cardiff Castle, and Princess Nesta herself at Pembroke, must have been like harbingers of peace from the Wye to Cardigan Bay. "Neb fel Nest" (Peerless Nesta). She doubtless, with genial queenly dignity, went among the farmers, their wives and daughters, in their homes and at fairs and markets, and spoke in their native tongue to them.

The ugly sugar-loaf hats of the Flemings of Haverfordwest and Rhos had not as yet been adopted by the Welsh ladies, and Princess Nesta must have worn the white linen turban which her celebrated grandson, forty years later, Archdeacon Giraldus of Brecon, describes as the headgear of the Kimmerian ladies in his day.

It appears that, prior to these events, Henry I. had ordered Gerald to arrest his guest, young Gruffyth Tudor, and doubtless Nesta, with the connivance of the lord-lieutenant, secretly conveyed to Gruffyth he had better make himself scarce; and that he then proceeded with all speed to King Gruffyth ap Cynan at Aberfraw, who owed his restoration to Rhys, Gruffyth's father. At the same time Howel, Gruffyth's half-brother, of whom little is known, escaped

too from Montgomery Castle, and he also went to Aberfraw, Anglesey, and joined Gruffyth. They were strangers to each other, although brothers, for Howel had been prisoner since 1088, and since that year Gruffyth had spent his time at the court of his uncle, the King of Dublin.

CHAPTER XXXII

LADY NESTA NEWMARCH, BRECON

ABOUT the same period as Princess Nesta was wedded to Lord Gerald de Windsor, Lord Bernard Newmarch had taken an uncertain possession of Brecon and the lordship of Brecknock. This was some time after the admission by the Glamorgans of Fitzhamon and his twelve knights into the rich *campania* of Glamorgan. It encouraged other Normans to do likewise. The marriage of Nesta Tudor to Lord Gerald of Pembroke was seen by the watchful eyes of the Norman courtiers to have had such a conciliatory effect upon the fearless Welsh, that general attention was directed to the native ladies of high degree in Wales generally.

There was a most eligible princess of Wales, named Nesta, a granddaughter of King Gruffyth, son of King Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, both of whom had ruled West Wales, North Wales, and Powys. It will be remembered the said King Llewelyn had built Rhuddlan Castle. Newmarch made an offer of his hand to this Nesta. Her family highly approved of the proposed match. But, unknown to all parties, Lady Nesta had quite recently clandestinely married a young Welshman far beneath her own family in social standing, and when Newmarch pressed his suit, and her own family pressed her to accept his offer, she was forced into a most wretched situation. She dared not reveal to her relatives her recent clandestine marriage to the poor Welsh knight, for in those terrible times his removal by violence would have inevitably followed immediately, that she might be free to accept Newmarch's proposal with the lordship of Brecknock within his grasp. At some tearful secret conference with her young husband, she

told him that his life was in imminent peril, and possibly her own, should the fact of their marriage become known, and she prevailed upon him to save both of them by disappearing. He did this, and Lady Nesta became Lady Nesta Newmarch.

Lord and Lady Nesta Bernard Newmarch had a son who was somewhat prematurely born. The fact is, Lady Nesta was enceinte by her real husband, the poor Welsh knight, when she was wedded to Newmarch. The baby boy was named Mahel. The next child was a girl named Sibyl. Now, the name Mahel is really the Hebrew name Mahlon, taken from the Book of Ruth, but slightly disguised. It appears as if Lady Nesta, after her marriage to Newmarch, on discovering what was her real condition when she married Newmarch, being awfully conscience stricken thereat, revealed everything in the Confessional to the Prior of Brecon, whose priory was close to the castle.

We discover traces of Nesta's woe in the name which was given to the child, evidently by the said ecclesiastic, namely, Mahel. Newmarch is placed for Boaz, who said as follows: "Ruth, the Moabite (Lady Nesta), I have bought, the wife of Mahlon to be my wife; to raise the name of the dead upon his inheritance, that the name of the dead (the poor knight) be not cut off from among his brethren and from the gate of his place" (Ruth iv. 10).

Little Mahel grew up to manhood, believing he was a Norman by his father and a royal Welshman by his mother. When Newmarch died, both Mahel and Sibyl his sister were grown up. Newmarch was buried in the cloister, Gloucester Church, now Gloucester Cathedral. All those circumstances came to pass in the reign of Henry I., between A.D. 1100 and 1135.

Some time after Newmarch's death, a stranger bearing a military mien presented himself at Brecon Priory. It appears quite clear the Prior had kept all the time the secret which Nesta had entrusted him with, and the reappearance of the poor Welsh knight—for it was he—was not very surprising in his eyes. He was Lady Nesta New-

march's long-lost husband. She had confessed in more senses than one to the Prior, who must have been upset by astonishment ; but he went into the castle and revealed to Nesta that the husband of her early youth was across the road at the priory. The next thing was the Welshman, now somewhat grey, was taken by the Prior to Nesta. One's imagination can picture the tender, tearful scene ; but we drop the curtain upon the old lovers.

The stranger's visits to Nesta greatly annoyed Mahel, and one day he waylaid him and attacked him with his sword. His real father, an experienced swordsman, had not the heart to do more than parry his boy, the stripling's sword thrusts, and Mahel killed him ! As may be imagined, Nesta grew frantic with grief and anger, and she would never see Mahel again. Soon after this sad affair Henry I. came to Worcester to receive the homage of the Lords Marchers. Nesta, as the Lady of Brecknock, went too, and there startled Henry I. by announcing that the late Lord Bernard de Newmarch was not the father of Mahel, his reputed son. She swore this on the holy relics at the Cathedral of Worcester, and the consequence was Mahel was disinherited, and Newmarch's daughter, Sibyl, was made his heiress. Sometimes the daughter is named Sibyl and sometimes Mabel. She was afterwards married to Milo, son of Milo Fitz-Walter, Earl of Hereford, and through this marriage Milo became Earl of Brecknock (see Llew. Prichard's *Welsh Heroines*, p. 573, &c.).

To be exact, one must not forget to state that this Nesta was the daughter of King Trehaiarn, who was married to a daughter of King Gruffyth Seisyllt. Trehaiarn was killed on Carno Mountain in A.D. 1080 in battle with Gruffyth ap Cynan and Rhys ap Tewdyr. Historians, ignorant of the above episodes, have been accustomed to describe Lady Nesta Newmarch as "an abandoned woman" ! She dared not reveal that her real husband was alive down to the death of Newmarch, for that revelation would also illegitimise her daughter Sibyl, Countess of Hereford.

TIME OF HENRY I

Prince Gruffyth, son of Rhys ap Tudor, and Princess Gwenllian, Anglesey.—Gruffyth, son of King Rhys ap Tudor, returned from Ireland sometime after he had attained the age of twenty-one, ostensibly to visit his half-sister, Princess Nesta de Windsor, at Pembroke Castle. We have no further account of his faithful mother, the royal Irish lady. Gruffyth had been reared up at the royal court of Dublin. After spending two years now at Pembroke Castle, Henry I. became suspicious as to his intentions by the long stay with his sister. Some historians think Gerald favoured an effort that might be made to place Gruffyth on the throne of his father, the late Rhys ap Tewdwr. But it appears that that conjecture is unfounded, indicated by the continued confidence of Henry I. in Gerald.

Gruffyth left Pembroke hastily for Anglesey and the court there of King Gruffyth ap Cynan. There Gruffyth met one of the most charming princesses in all the history of Wales, viz., Gwenllian, daughter of the said king. She was about eighteen years of age, and the young people were soon in love with each other. Henry I., who all the time had watchful eyes after Gruffyth Rhys, invited the Welsh king, to his no little surprise, to visit him in London, or perhaps Windsor Castle. He there flattered him after the fashion of a tiger licking an antelope before making a meal of it. It soon transpired what Henry I. wanted: it was to deliver Gruffyth Rhys to his tender mercies. The King of North Wales promised to do so, but let us hope it was with his tongue in his cheek. It appears the King of North Wales had taken to London with him young Princess Gwen, and she must have kept an observant watch over both kings, judging from what we learn of her intelligence and courage later in life. It is said that the King of North Wales blabbed in his cups as to what Henry I. wanted him to do with Gruffyth Rhys, and that he was going to do it. Gwen seems to

have said to herself, "Not if I know it!" and by some means she succeeded in sending to Aberfraw a warning to her sweetheart to be off immediately. This he did by way of the Caernarvon Ferry, and then reached Aberdaron Monastery, at the extreme north of Wales. He was received into sanctuary, as King Gruffyth himself had been received by the good monks there years before. It seems that King Gruffyth and Gwen soon returned home to Aberfraw, to find that Gruffyth Rhys was not there, but had departed. The king, with no doubt much show of fuss, sent after him, and apparently cavalry soon presented themselves with visors up before the Aberdaron sanctuary. But immediately the monks, singing a Gregorian chant, and the Prior carrying aloft the cross dazzling in front of them, appeared facing the horse-men, who all bowed reverently to the cross, and Gruffyth Rhys was safe. The soldiers returned to Aberfraw palace, and said the fugitive was under the protection of the cross in the sanctuary at Aberdaron. The king could do no more. Princess Gwen that night said her prayers with tears of joy.

That same night, in total darkness, Gruffyth Rhys, accompanied apparently by cowled monks accustomed to paddle the monastery boat between the Arvon shore and Bardsey Island, a distance of three miles, boarded the boat and directed their course south; and, crossing Cardigan Bay, reaching St. David's Head, they entered the Severn, and reached Swansea or the estuary of River Tawe, and rowed up the river. It appears that Gruffyth now took up his quarters in the greenwood of Penlle'r Gaer, ever since sacred ground! By some means his whereabouts was made known at Aberfraw—perhaps by the returning paddling monks—and Princess Gwen was soon with him in the forest, doubtless having reached Swansea by the same friendly boat from Aberdaron.

Prince Gruffyth and Princess Gwenllian were soon made man and wife under leafy sacred oaks by the monks. They were soon assisted in building what would be now termed a bungalow, at the place which, there is no manner

of doubt, has ever since been called Penlle'r Gaer. In this name the article "the" (yr) is used, implying giving to the place definitiveness above all other Gaers. The princely pair were soon surrounded by immense numbers, with warm hearts and sinewy arms, and a circle of fortifications soon surrounded the bungalow, and it seems more than probable that the palace of Penlle'r Gaer marks the very site of that most interesting bungalow of royalty in the forest! Hundreds, if not thousands, of young Welshmen were soon in that forest, engaged in preparing their bows for the fray; for Gruffyth was ready to lead his supporters, who came trooping in from the bounds of Pembroke in the west and from Neath River on the east, and from many places besides.

CHAPTER XXXIII

DEATH OF OWEN, SON OF CADWGAN

THE town of Caermarthen was the metropolis of the kingdom of West Wales. There Rhys ap Tewdwr had held his Council of State. It was the metropolis of his race, but was now held by Normans.

From the rustic bower in the greenwood of Tawe Valley Prince Gruffyth sallied forth westwardly at the head of his native bands to fight for the throne of his ancestors. There were fearful odds against him and his army, but that consideration only increases our admiration for the gallantry of the enterprise. The ancestors of the heroic band of Welshmen had fought along the very same track the legions of the Cæsars a thousand years before, and the sons had inherited the same kind of stout hearts, strong arms, and springy steps and dauntless courage as their ancestors possessed. What if they were not clad in coats of mail? They deemed them too cumbersome for their sudden forays. At their advance the Normans and Flemings of Rhos and Haverfordwest flew to their castles to peep through arrow-slits at the advancing patriots, but whizzed an occasional arrow into their midst.

There is a graphic illustrative story in the ancient black-lettered Chronicle. It appears that Henry I. had engaged Owen, son of Cadwgan, to endeavour to capture Prince Gruffyth, but had omitted to acquaint his lieutenant, Gerald de Windsor, of the presence with this force of the said Owen, who had with him young Robert Fitzroy, Nesta's son. This somewhat hints that the king suspected that De Windsor might transmit a warning to Gruffyth, his brother-in-law. Gerald placed himself at the head of a large force of Flemings from Rhos, Pembroke-

shire, and marched towards the force of Owen, which was in a forest near Caermarthen town. Owen's scouts ran back to the main body, announcing that an army was approaching. Owen now went himself to reconnoitre, and came back calling out derisively, "Fear not; they are only Flemings." It is evident the Welsh regarded the Flemings as simply weavers and tailors, a people extremely useful to them in those days, but too contemptible as soldiers to be thought of seriously. Owen, neglecting to take precautions, exposed himself to the large body of Flemings approaching, and Lord Gerald de Windsor, his mortal foe, seeing him from the midst of his weavers and tailors, let fly an arrow, killing Owen on the spot. (*Vide the Red Book of Hergest*, vol. ii. p. 302.)

Owen's supporter, Llywarch, son of Trehaiarn of Powys, who also had come to capture Prince Gruffyth, now went home with his troops, fearing he himself might fall into the same kind of snare as he supposed Owen had fallen into, for it was incomprehensible to him the fall of Owen at the hand of Henry I.'s own lieutenant, when not only was he there in the service of the said king, but actually had with him Robert Fitzroy, the son of Henry I. and of Princess Nesta, Prince Gruffyth's sister.

It must have been extremely difficult for Owen Gwynedd and Cadwalader, his brother, both brothers of Princess Gwen, to keep at home and not go and join in the war in Caermarthenshire. But had they done so all North Wales would have been left open to the Lords Marchers, who were hankering after Welsh territories, and Henry I. might invade Wales *via* Chester, the usual route of invasions.

Prince Gruffyth now dashed into Caermarthen town, and there slew on the ramparts Owen, son of Caradoc, cousin to Owen Cadwgan, and grandson of Bleddyn, son of Cynvyn of Powys. He, too, was in the Norman service. Prince Gruffyth next dismantled the castle and took the entire town. In passing, it may be stated that this Owen Caradoc was ancestor of Trehaiarn Vychan, who was murdered at Brecon by Lord William de Breos, the assassin

of Abergavenny Castle, in the reign of King Henry II., as described elsewhere.

Prince Gruffyth and his numerous followers, now loaded with spoils, returned to the forest sanctuary of Penlle'r Gaer, in Tawe Valley. He was now joined by important men, who had been apparently seated on the fence watching how things would turn out. He next attacked and took Kedwely Castle: a Druidic name, Ked and Gwely; and this was succeeded by Gower Castle falling before him. Kedwely Castle was at the time occupied by Maurice de Londres, a grandson of Sir William de Londres of Ogmores Castle and Ewenny Abbey, Bridgend, Glamorgan.

Prince Gruffyth and Princess Gwenllïan now departed from their green bower, and went to reside in Kedwely Castle. Already there had been born to them their son Rhys (Lord Rhys), who, after those days, attained great eminence. County Cardigan, as it is now called, next declared in Prince Gruffyth's favour, and all its forces were soon in the forest. Gruffyth next took Ystrad Peisyll Castle, and still advancing, attacked Blaen Gwythan Castle, held by the men of Earl Strugil (Ystrad Gul), or Chepstow, and burnt it to the ground. He attempted Aberystwyth Castle, but failed to take it.

It is asserted that he committed a mistake at Aberystwyth Castle. Instead of delivering his attack suddenly, as usual, he encamped at Plas-y-crug (a mound), in full view of Aberystwyth Castle. This gave the officers of the garrison time to prepare their defence, and also to draw reinforcements from another direction; and during that night a portion of Gruffyth's troops was lured to an ambush at Pen Dinas, across the River Rheidol, and were there caught between two divisions of the enemy, one being the decoy cavalry and the other the troops in ambush, attacking at the same moment from behind the said mound. Gruffyth and the main portion of his army hastily retreated, and did not halt until Kedwely Castle was reached. Gruffyth instantly vacated Kedwely Castle, and, with Princess Gwenllïan and their little son, returned to

their former bower in the Swansea Valley. It was now that Henry I. had engaged Owen ap Cadwgan to capture Prince Gruffyth, but met death himself. In A.D. 1121 Henry I. came himself to those parts, but narrowly escaped assassination, and he soon returned to England, after witnessing the perils his lieutenants experienced in West Wales.

After the late disaster at Aberystwyth Gruffyth remained long inactive. During this lull in hostilities Earl Robert Fitzroy appears to have retired to Cardiff, and at that city, and at Kenfig, Cowbridge, Boverton, Llantwit Major, and Llantrisant enjoyed himself among the Bards of Glamorgan, dwelling on lands under his own private supervision, apart from his State, as Lord Paramount of Glamorgan.

King Gruffyth ap Cynan proclaimed a Royal Eisteddvod to be holden at Caerswys. To it came pipers from Scotland, and the skirl, or scream, of the slogan seems to have immensely amused the Welsh harpers and violinists, or *crwthwyr*. But what must have been their surprise when they discovered that one of the names the Scots gave to the bagpipe was "*pibroch*," a pure Welsh name, signifying "*y bib groch*," or the "*loud sounding pipe*." It seemed to convey that the Scots had obtained it in remote ages from the Cambro-British minstrels. They found also that "*claymore*" (*Cleddy' Mawr*) is really Welsh, meaning a "*big sword*." Much as the Bards were laughing at the *pibroch*, King Gruffyth ap Cynan, who had been familiar with it in his *Clonmel* days, in County Waterford, Ireland, gave a gold pipe to the best piper of them all. But the Welsh Bards, by their vote, excluded it from their future literary festivals, as being, it seems, too noisy, and stuck to the harp and violin.

All felt that Earl Robert Fitzroy stood at the foot of the throne of his father, Henry I., and his superlative talents, ripe scholarship, courage, noble character, and monastic proclivities, made his prospects good, as being the most capable of the grandsons of William the Conqueror and of Rhys ap Tudor, the latter of the pure pre-Saxon kings of all Britain, as likely at any moment to be chosen for the

throne of England itself. Had that come to pass it would have then united England and Wales more than a century earlier than their nominal union by 12 Edward I. (1284). In the midst of the enjoyment of "the arts of peace" came the death of Henry I., and the civil war between Stephen and the Princess Matilda, the daughter of the late King, and half-sister of Earl Robert Fitzroy, who became his said half-sister's chief counsellor and the commander-in-chief of her armies. But he died in A.D. 1147, or twelve years after his royal father, and he was interred in St. James's Church, Bristol, as a token of his love for the Bristolians, who had always supported him most loyally.

William of Malmesbury asserts that King Stephen offered to Earl Robert to appoint him his successor on condition he threw in his influence in his support against the Empress Matilda. Earl Robert declined the offer, and continued to assist his half-sister against him. Stephen was captured by Earl Robert in the battle of Lincoln in 1141, and Matilda was crowned. But Stephen was afterwards restored. He died October 23, 1154, and was succeeded by Henry II., Matilda's son.

Henry, doubtless through the growing influence of Earl Robert Fitzroy, whose uncle, his mother's brother, was Gruffyth, had offered him terms of peace, with certain estates which have not been identified. Those terms were accepted, and during the next six years Prince Gruffyth and Princess Gwen and their little family dwelt at Penlle'r Gaer in peace, the well-beloved of all Wales.

Little Rhys was now aged ten; Maelgwn and Morgan were twins, aged nine. Gruffyth having made peace with Henry I., many who had hitherto kept aloof from him now gathered around the family in the forest.

CHAPTER XXXIV

WALES UP IN ARMS

WE repeat, on December 1, A.D. 1135, Henry I. died. Then England, as already intimated, became convulsed by civil war, in consequence of Stephen assuming the Crown against the Empress Matilda, daughter of the late Henry I., and half-sister to Robert Fitzroy. It is very probable that what now took place in Wales was fomented by Earl Robert. All Wales rose in arms in 1136 to assert its own independence. In North Wales King Gruffyth ap Cynan and his sons, Owen Gwynedd and Cadwalader, prepared for hostilities, and Prince Gruffyth ap Tudor now declared himself sovereign of West Wales; and all Wales, except Glamorgan and county Monmouth, recovered their ancient respective independence. The Normans and Flemings cowered behind their walls in West Wales.

Prince Gruffyth proclaimed a great Eisteddvod to be holden in Ystrad Tawe, no doubt at Swansea (called in Welsh Abertawe). His father-in-law, King Gruffyth ap Cynan, and his two sons, Owen and Cadwalader, honoured the Eisteddvod by their presence, and also the royal banquet associated with it. Princess Gwenllian and her forest sons, Rhys, Morgan, and Maelgwn, were there, no doubt very much interested, and both were extremely interesting lads. Soon after this, another Eisteddvod was held at Caerwys, under the patronage of King Gruffyth ap Cynan,¹ when, in addition to the native bards and minstrels, minstrels from Ireland attended, and took part in the proceedings. It is interesting and significant to see thus the entire

¹ Several were held, but in the *Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 604, it is stated this king limited the attention to the Gorseddau (Bardic Congresses) in North Wales and Anglesey.

Welsh nation suddenly, as soon as they were delivered from the worry of greedy foreigners, reverting back to their ancient high intellectual national pastimes, enjoyments so characteristic to the present day of the same nation. The Normans and Flemings communicated with King Stephen touching their own hardships among the hostile Welsh people. They were burglars complaining because they could not have everything they chose !

CHAPTER XXXV

TRAGIC DEATH OF PRINCESS GWENLLIAN NEAR KEDWELY CASTLE, A.D. 1136

As already stated, immediately after the death of Henry I., on December 1, 1135, West Wales rose in arms under Prince Gruffyth ap Rhys Tudor, and the Welshmen succeeded in doing much damage to the properties of the Norman lords. Castles were taken by storm and then demolished in all directions. England was the scene of civil war between the usurper Stephen and Princess Matilda, the daughter of Henry I. She had become a German Empress, wife of Henry V., Emperor of Germany, in her father's lifetime. England could not now afford either soldiers or time to pay any attention to Wales.

It appears, however, that Lord Maurice de Londres, grandson of William de Londres, of Ogmore and Ewenny, Bridgend, had succeeded in retaining Kedwely Castle, which was strongly garrisoned. It became known to Prince Gruffyth that Maurice had sent to divers barons in England inviting them to come to his help, and Gruffyth, taking young Rhys, his son, with him rode towards North Wales for the purpose of soliciting the help of his father-in-law, King Gruffyth Cynan. He unfortunately left his wife Princess Gwenllian, at home at, we believe, Penlle'r Gaer, Swansea Valley. She had with her the twin sons, Maelgwn and Morgan, nine years old. Gruffyth had, unfortunately, trusted he himself and reinforcements would be able to reach home before the arrival of the reinforcements for Maurice. He miscalculated, and he never again beheld his much-beloved Princess Gwenllian and her two young sons! Prince Gruffyth had two other sons, older it seems than the three named. They were

Cadell and Meredith, and they also seem to have gone somewhere on a similar errand as their father had in view in his journey. The existence of these sons makes it appear Prince Gruyffth was a widower when he married Princess Gwenllian.

Thus Gwenllian was left at home alone to her own resources. One day her scouts came to her hurriedly with the alarming tidings that Maurice's hoped-for reinforcements from England had already crossed the Severn and landed in Glamorgan! There was not a moment to lose. Gwenllian summoned her husband's officers to her presence, and informed them that the reinforcements were probably already advancing, and that the first duty was to reach Kedwely Castle before the reinforcements came. It seems to have been overlooked that going into the interval between the said castle's garrison and the advancing reinforcements, meant placing the native force in a position where a simultaneous attack upon them in front and rear was feasible. But Gwenllian ordered her troops to advance, and she herself rode in front towards the castle, having her twins on ponies on either side of her. The distance from the starting-point is about twenty miles to Kedwely Castle. Near Kedwely, Gwenllian posted some of her army on the summit of Mynydd y Garreg, a post of observation, and she posted her immediate following with the Gwendraeth River¹ between her and Kedwely Castle. It is clear that the princess had intended the division on the summit of the mountain to keep a look out, and to engage the reinforcements whatever way they might advance, and that the division with herself would then frustrate any attempt Maurice's garrison might make to join them. But the reinforcements, evidently divining her plan, under the guidance of a renegade Welshman, named Gruffyth, son of Llewelyn, made a circuitous march, probably at night, and at dawn rushed the division on the mountain, and drove it in disorder down the declivity towards her own division now beyond the

¹ The meaning in English is "Gwen's Riverside." The name seems to intimate the place of her decapitation was the side of the stream.

river. At the same moment Maurice de Londres directed a sortie of all his garrison towards Gwenllian. Instantly she was in the midst of fighting warriors of her own and Maurice's, with the reinforcements pressing on with fury down the mountain. Like a Boadicea, she, brave lioness at bay, urged her men with cries and gestures! She was soon wounded severely, and little Maelgwn was killed by her side while feebly endeavouring to shield his heroic mother from the blows of the enemy. Her army was soon overwhelmed, and both herself and little Morgan were captured.

Maurice now eternally disgraced his name by ordering the heroic princess, who was descended from a long line of ancient kings, and little Morgan, to be instantly beheaded in his own presence, and that was accomplished; and the scene of the barbarous event is still known by the name "Maes Gwenllian," or "Gwenllian's Fenceless Field."

It appears that while these terrible events were taking place at Kedwely, Gwenllian's brothers, Princes Owen Gwynedd and Cadwalader, and Prince Gruffyth, her husband, were on the march from North Wales at the head of 2000 horsemen and 6000 foot, and the general fury caused by the sanguinary fate of Gwenllian and her two boys had driven the entire country into frenzy. All West Wales joined the bereaved husband and Gwenllian's brothers, and most terrible scenes of revenge followed, and no quarter was given! The castles of Aberystwyth, Dinerth, Caerwerdros, and two others, belonging to Walter Aspec and Richard de la Mare, were sacked and destroyed. Next, Cardigan was assailed. It was defended by Governor Sir Robert Fitzstephen, second husband of Nesta, formerly wife of Gerald de Windsor, and sons, namely, Robert Fitzmartin and William Fitzjohn.¹ But popular resentment was so terrible that the Welshmen drove the Normans headlong out of the place. In the fury of the conflict the Cardigan town bridge, over the Teivi River, broke down, and great many of the enemy fell with it and were

¹ These two surnames are puzzling. Doubtless they are the surnames of nephews of Sir Robert Fitzstephen, the second husband of Princess Nesta.

drowned. The Normans then ran for their lives in the direction of Glamorgan. But it appears that the fate of heroic Gwenllian and her boys had roused Glamorgan too into intense indignation, and the sons of Caradoc, son of Jestyn, sallied out of Aberavan, and, somewhere between that town and Neath, met the retreating enemy, and attacked them, and slew 3000 of them!¹ The survivors turned back, racing through Swansea, and entered the Peninsula of Gower, and the remnants were there received by Sir Henry Beaumont into the wards of Gower Castle.

Thus fearless Princess Gwenllian was most awfully avenged by her fellow-countrymen! It appears that the 3000 Normans who were put to the sword during the retreat between Aberavan and Neath were the reinforcements which De Londres had brought across the Severn from England into Glamorgan, therefore mostly implicated in the slaying of Gwenllian and her boys.

It is sadly significant that a few months after the death of his beloved Gwenllian and her two lads, Prince Gruffyth himself passed away from his willow cabin at Penlle'r Gaer, near Swansea, now the home of Sir John Dillwyn Llewelyn, Bart., and his lady. His son, Prince Cadell succeeded him.

¹ Statement of Giraldus Cambrensis, *circa* 1158.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE ARISTOCRACY OF MEDIÆVAL WALES

WE quote the following summary illustrating the great importance of family descents in Wales in the Middle Ages :—

“ King Gruffyth ap Cynan ranks first of the five royal tribes of Wales. The five regal tribes, and the respective representatives of each, were considered as being of royal blood. The fifteen common tribes, all of North Wales, and the respective representatives of each, formed the nobility, and were lords of distinct districts, and bore hereditary offices in the palace of the king. Kings Gruffyth ap Cynan and Rhys ap Tewdwr, representing in that order North Wales, West Wales, and Powys, regulated both of the above classes, namely, royalty and nobility of Wales. They did not create them, for many of the persons placed at their heads lived before their times, and some after them. . . . We are left uninformed as to how they were called into their respective offices.”

Mr. Vaughan, Hengwrt, Dolgelley, informs us “ that Gruffyth ap Cynan, Rhys ap Tewdwr, and Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, made diligent search for the armorial bearings, ensigns, and pedigrees of their ancestors, the kings and nobility of the ancient Britons. What they discovered by their industry, in papers and records, were afterwards by the herald bards digested and put into books, and they ordained five royal tribes—there being before only three royal tribes. From those five royal tribes their posterity to the present day trace out their descent ; and also fifteen special tribes, from whom the gentry of North Wales are for the most part descended.”

From the Laws of Howel the Good (A.D. 930) it appears

there were twenty-four officers of the royal court of the kings of Wales. (York's *Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 1.) At Avebury, Wilts, were two circles of stones, twelve in each. We infer that the numbers were based upon the number of princes in the Druidic hierarchy, and the numbers correspond with the order King David instituted at the Tabernacle (1 Chron. xxiv. 4, 5, &c.). It will be particularly noticed that Howel the Good only dealt with the order of things in North Wales, West Wales, and Powys, leaving out Glamorgan and Gwent, as if they were under a foreign government. Their isolation from the rest of Wales dated from unknown times.

THE FIVE ROYAL TRIBES OF WALES

The following order was instituted after the death of Rhodri, the grandfather of Howel the Good. It seems to have been instituted at the time his three sons took possession of their respective allotments, North Wales, West Wales, and Powys: Anarawd, North Wales; Cadell, West Wales; Mervyn, Powys; Elystan Clodrydd, between Wye and Severn, Lower Powys. It will be seen that Glamorgan and Gwent are excluded in this also. (Iolo MSS., p. 406.)

In the Iolo MSS., p. 357, is given the Glamorgan royal descent of the ruling family from Bran the Blessed, the father of Caractacus. It is notable as we stated in that account that some ancient scribe applied to Bran the title of "Archon" (chief priest); that a later copyist mistook "Archon" for a proper name, so that we have two Brans and two Caractacuses. (See Jestyn ap Gwrgan's pedigree, Iolo MSS., p. 343, No. 34; *ibid.*, p. 349, No. 41.) These mistakes prove the antiquity of the records and the scrupulous care of the copyists.

Those who introduced the systems of royal families and noble families introduced those elements of discord into Wales which eventually made Wales a disunited country, and made it a prey to adventurers. Providence

mercifully destroyed those family distinctions, but it took Providence centuries to do so. In our day the "families" have melted into the nation as a whole, and now a healthy spirit of nationality, based upon individual merit instead of rubbish, is becoming a powerful factor in Wales.

CHAPTER XXXVII

RHYS, LORD OF DINEVOR—AN IMPREGNABLE THERMO-
PYLÆ—THE EYRIE OF WELSH HEROES—HENRY II.
IN WEST WALES ABOUT 1168

RHYS, son of Gruffyth and Gwenllian, accepted in 1164 Henry II.'s invitation, and he visited him at Woodstock. They there came to agreement, under which Rhys was to enjoy unmolested certain territories in the land of his fathers. Rhys then returned home. But in a short time after, Walter Clifford, a Norman, in the occupation of Llandovery Castle, began to make forays into Prince Rhys's landed estates. Rhys complained to Henry II., but he took no notice. Rhys, in the next year after he and the King had met, surrounded Llandovery Castle. Einion, his nephew, son of the late Anarawd, attacked Humphrey Castle, in the Valley of Clettwr, slew the governor of the castle and some other notable men there, then he demolished the castle itself. The river Clettwr enters the river Teivi at Llandysil.

Rhys, the Chronicle states, having discovered he should not hold anything himself except by force of arms, demolished in succession all the castles in county Cardigan. When the tidings of these disasters reached the king, he came to Wales, but, sad to relate, he came now to attack Rhys for what he had done to the king's Norman friends, the Lords Marchers, and castles. King Henry now invaded West Wales. Gallant Rhys had the heart of a Tudor, and faced the army of the king and his said friends. Many actions took place between them, but details of them are wanting. But Henry II. gave up the enterprise, and departed for England, leaving all behind him to the mercy of Rhys (1165-66).

Rhys now had a free hand, and he demolished other castles from end to end of Pembrokeshire. We find that now Roger (or Reynold), Earl of Bristol; one of the king's natural sons, viz. Roger de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Lord Paramount of Glamorgan; two other earls, and many other knights, invaded West Wales with all their powers. Their army, states the Chronicle, consisted of French, Normans, Flemings, Saxons, and natives. Most strange to say, there came with them also Cadwalader (Rhys's uncle), and Howel and Cynan, sons of his other uncle, King Owen Gwynedd of North Wales. One cannot but suspect they were dangerous allies on this momentous occasion. They alone had a great force of cavalry and foot, called "Pedit" (Pedestrians) in the Chronicle.

Rhys, like a lion at bay, slowly retired with his face to the enemy along the highway north-east from Newcastle Emlyn, till he came to a very steep mountain, called then Dinawelir, or "Mountain Seen from Afar," a mountain which, owing to what occurred then, has ever since been known as Cevn Rwstws, or the "Mountain Back that Hindered." Rhys at the head of his army ascended it by a zigzag route. On the summit of that Cardigan Thermopylæ is a lake of good drinking water, and there Rhys had placed abundant supplies of food. From that lofty eyrie Rhys and his army, forming the shape of a reversed bow, lined with fortifications—their markings are still seen there—watched the advance of his foes, the centre apparently coming slowly from the direction of Newcastle Emlyn. The steep slopes in front of the enemy were watched by Rhys's bowmen, with each bow ready to let fly their feathered bolts. Rhys's flag bore the name "Invicta," or Invincible, and the Red Dragon was ready to wing its way from the eyrie down upon its foes in order of battle below.

On the rising ground in front of the allies was the Castle of Y Dinawelir, whilst on the lofty amphitheatre of hills behind it, the horns almost flanking the allied army; there, high up was the crescent-shaped formation studded with earthworks and held by thousands of the

finest bowmen in Europe, ready for the fray. Believing that the said castle was strongly garrisoned by Lord Rhys ap Gruffyth, and prepared to sally out to attack them in rear after their advance had commenced, it was decided to reduce the castle before the advance was entered upon.

But it seems that the miners and sappers were mostly, if not all, natives of Wales. It does not appear the castle was garrisoned at all. But the allies drove tunnels underneath the foundations, the roof of the tunnels, as the levels advanced, being upheld by wooden beams and props. When everything was ready for knocking down the props and enter upon the attack on the castle, Lord Stafford, William de Monchency, and many other knights and esquires entered the tunnels to see that everything was in order, when suddenly the props—those apparently between them and outside—caught fire, and the castle came down upon them all like an avalanche, and not a single soul of the inspecting officers escaped, but were all buried; and their bones are there doubtless to this day. The castle was never restored.

This terrible catastrophe made the surviving leaders evidently suspicious as to the real intentions of their North Wales' allies in uniting themselves to them. For if they turned against them at the moment of the intended advance up the hills, these might attack them in the rear, while, at the same moment, the army of Lord Rhys might swoop down upon their front. It was now decided to abandon the expedition altogether, and the bugles sounded the retreat. And ever since the place of Rhys's fortified hills has borne the name "Y Cefn a Rwstws,"¹ or, in English, "the Hill Back which Hindered." In Welsh the back of a man or animal is called "Cevn." Here the mountains bear the name conveying the same idea as would be conveyed by describing a man placing his back against a door, to apply to it his strength, to prevent its being forced open.

Guth, in his *History of England*, has attributed all this to Rhys ap Meredith, one of the grandsons of Lord Rhys. This has misled all subsequent writers. Not one of the

¹ Welsh colloquialism.

latter has had the remotest notion as to the meaning of "Rwstws." Warrington—taking his cue from preceding blunderers—spells it in two ways, both meaningless, Cevn "Rester" and "Ristin." The last might stand for Rhys's "Din" or "Hill." The commander-in-chief of the allies was the said Earl of Bristol. For him writers give by mistake the name Earl of "Gloucester." Dinawelir is rendered by the nonsensical, "Dynwyllir," by the foregoing scribes.

Lord Byron's lines to the mountains of Greece can be applied also to Cevn a Rwystroth :—

"A mightier monument command,
The mountains of their native land :
There points thy muse to stranger's eye,
The 'forts' of those who can never die."

Giraldus Cambrensis has left the following incident touching an expedition of Henry II. towards The Cevn a Rwystrodd :—"Being at Pencadair, the king sent a Welshman to reconnoitre the Welsh army in front of him. The Welsh scout returned, and reported to the king, who said he would destroy the Welsh army. The Cambrian scout's blood fired up ; and he dared to speak as follows to the king : 'This nation (the Kimmric) may suffer much, and may be in a great measure ruined, or at least very much weakened, O King, by your present and future attempts, as well as formerly it hath often been ; but we assure ourselves that it never will be wholly ruined by the anger or power of any mortal man, unless the anger of Heaven concur in its destruction. Nor (whatever changes may happen as to other parts of the world), can I believe that any other Nation or Language besides the Welsh shall answer on the Great Day before the Supreme Judge, for the greater part of this corner of the world.'"—*Cambden ex Giraldus, in "Topographia Walliae."*

CHAPTER XXXVIII

AN ATTACK ON OFFA'S DIKE, EAST WALES, RADNOR, ETC.

TWO years after the stirring affair of Cevn a Rwystrodd, King Owen Gwynedd of North Wales; Owen, son of Madoc, Powys; and Meredith, son of Howel, a natural son of the said King Owen, demolished a portion of Offa's Dike, running through Powys, and dashed into the West of England.

Henry II. now invaded West Wales again, and reached Pencadair, co. Caermarthen. But Prince Rhys and the King of England now came to terms; thus Rhys was prevented from co-operating with King Owen and the others mentioned above. Henry II. now promised to Rhys he should not be again molested by the Lords Marchers. Henry II. now again returned to England. He took with him to England Meredith, one of Rhys's sons, as a hostage for Rhys's fulfilment of the "peace" compact.

But no sooner had Henry II. withdrawn from Wales than Rhys's nephew, viz. Einion, son of Rhys's brother Anarawd, who had been slain by his uncle Cadwalader, brother of King Owen, in a duel, was assassinated in his bed while asleep by Llewelyn, son of Llywarch, by the instigation of Roger, Earl de Clare, of Gloucester, Glamorgan, and Pembroke. This Einion was he who, in alliance with Prince Rhys, had demolished Humphrey Castle, Clettwr Valley. This outrage upon Einion, and other outrages by the Lords Marchers, induced Prince Rhys to risk the lives of his son Meredith and those of the other hostages delivered to Henry II. Doubtless he took for granted that, inasmuch as it was Earl de Clare who was the aggressor, and the first to violate the treaty with the king, his Majesty would, in fairness, place the blame

on the shoulders of Earl de Clare and the other Lord Marchers. But, to the eternal disgrace of Henry II., he had Meredith blinded, and sent him home to his father in that condition.

Meanwhile Prince Rhys had again taken the field and took possession of Cantrev Mawr and Dinevor Castle. This intimation proves that the Normans at this time were actually in possession of Prince Rhys's ancestral home, Dinevor.

[INTERPOLATION]

The following accounts are misplaced, for they refer to the early days of Prince Gruffyth Rhys's rising, but we introduce them here because they afford us an account of Madoc, who murdered Cadwgan in the streets of Welshpool. The capture of Madoc must have occurred between 1110 and 1114, for it was on the last-named date Owen himself was slain by Gerald de Windsor in a wood near Caermarthen.

Madoc was captured by Meredith, Cadwgan's brother, and he sent him in chains to Owen, Cadwgan's son, who spared his life, but had him made blind for the rest of his days. We are told his life was spared by Owen—he who took Nesta de Windsor—on account of former friendship between them. Then Madoc's lands in *Caer Einion*, *Aber-Rhiw*—the present *Berriw*—*co. Montgomery*, and *Deuddwr* ("Two Waters") were divided between Meredith and Owen. Prince Rhys, after 1135, attacked Roger Earl de Clare, destroyed *Aber Rheidiol* Castle, *Mabwynion* Castle, and forayed the borders of *co. Cardigan*, abutting *co. Pembroke*, and all *Rhoos*, inhabited by *Flemings*, taking therefrom immense quantities of spoils.

At the same time Prince David, one of the sons of King Owen Gwynedd, ravaged the Norman settlements in *Tegeigil* ("Fair Glade"), and drove all the inhabitants and their cattle into the *Vale of Clwyd*, *co. Denbigh*. These furious attacks greatly annoyed Henry II., and it was soon known he was gathering together an army in England to invade North Wales.

CHAPTER XXXIX

A CAMBRIAN CONFEDERACY, A.D. 1167-68—THREE PARTS
OF WALES UNITED — THUNDERS ON BERWYN
MOUNT, CORWEN

WE next witness a rare scene, namely, all Wales, always excepting Glamorgan and Gwent, uniting to face an English invasion, led by Henry II. in person. It will be borne in mind that Prince Rhys was the nephew of King Owen Gwynedd, being the son of his sister, Princess Gwenllïan and Prince Gruffyth, the youngest son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, beheaded in the Rhondda in A.D. 1088, and that Rhys's father died in 1135, and Gwenllïan a little before. Further, that Earl Robert Fitzroy, who was dead since 1147, was Prince Rhys's uncle, the son of his sister, Princess Nesta de Windsor, *née* Tudor. Earl Robert's son, Earl William, was now Lord of Glamorgan, &c.¹ The Welsh confederate forces were under King Owen, Prince Rhys, Prince Cadwalader (King Owen's brother), Owen Cyveiliog, Powys; Edward the Auburn, and the sons of Meredith, with all the forces of Powys, and the two sons of Ednerth, with their respective forces.

Henry II., at the head of a tremendous army, entered Wales at Oswestry. There was great probability that William the Lion, King of Scotland, would now co-operate with Wales by invading England; for the allied Princes of Wales had been negotiating to that effect with him. They had also sounded the King of France to a like effect. Rhys struck the first blow by taking Kilgerran Castle, co. Cardigan, and capturing there Governor Robert Fitz-Stephen, his aunt's (Princess Nesta) second husband.

¹ Lady Mabel, his daughter, married as her first husband a son of Lord Ivor Bach; secondly, she married Earl Eureux, Ireland.

Robert Fitz-Stephen was a noted commander, and it appears probable that Rhys's object was to prevent this uncle of his from co-operating from Cardigan behind him, while he himself went with his confederates to meet the King of England, somewhere between Oswestry and North Wales. As a parenthesis we ask here: Were Cilgerran Castle and Tregarawn named after Carawn, called in Latin the Emperor Carausius (A.D. 308)? His numerous coins at the British Museum assert he was a native of these parts of Wales, therefore a most gallant "Cardigan."

At the same time King Owen attacked and demolished the King of England's recently completed castle of Basingwerk, Holywell. The King of England advanced towards North Wales, the allies frequently engaging him; but gradually they were being forced back towards their base, which had been fixed on Berwyn Mountains, near Corwen, Dee Valley. It appears this state of things continued during some months, all the world looking on. Winter was now approaching, and the experienced Welsh leaders calculated upon that fact. Having swept mid-Wales of all supplies that might be useful to the royal army coming after them, they slowly fell back, which would now be called masterly strategy. The royal army entered the Dee Valley, it appears, by way of Ruabon, and passing up by way of Llangollen, came to a halt at Corwen. There in classic Edeyrnion and Rhiannedd and Bala, the king established his headquarters.

The army of Wales was now on the heights of Berwyn Mountain. The king marched towards it and, as he advanced, he beheld the army of Wales in vast masses on the heights watching his movements. That army had already, by rapid movements of detachments, there also cut off his supplies. He halted in Duffryn Ceiriog. At that moment some daring veterans of the army of Wales, while the royal army were cutting down the forest to enable the English army to advance upwards, slipped off from their comrades the Welsh, unknown to their commanders—"they who had slipped away," states the

Chronicle, "knew not what defeat meant"—and attacked the king's pioneers, and many fell on both sides.

The king now halted and encamped his army. This attack had evidently checked the advance. The day was gloomy and very sultry, and the Welsh army seemed in clouds—sons of thunder they were! Suddenly a tremendous sound was heard overhead. Every nerve was already sensitive, and all were on the alert and in perplexity as to what the Welsh might do next, perhaps by "art magic." But the detonation heard did not emanate from the heights of Berwyn, but from the thickening clouds. Vivid flashes of forked lightning played zigzag among nature's own lofty battlements, the mountains of Berwyn and the Valley of Glyn-y-Ceiriog River. As already intimated, it was in those days believed and also in much later days, that the Bards of Wales, representing the ancient Druids, possessed "art magic," and were able, when they pleased, to make the elements obedient to their will. It had now become obvious to the King of England and his generals that the Welsh commanders had retreated slowly before the English army, designedly to lead the latter into the wilds of Glyn-y-Ceiriog, with the narrow ravines and abrupt mountain ascents which characterised the entire region.¹ And now, having ended their cunning retreat up the hills, they had begun to bring into operation their mysterious "art magic." What made Henry II.'s nerves most to tremble was his consciousness that he and his forces were engaged upon cruel and unjustifiable actions against the gallant descendants of the ancient Britons, whose only offence was defending their own country!

What Henry II. now witnessed and alarmed him was a thick white mist descending like a shechinah upon the Berwyn mountains, completely hiding the Welsh army from view, as if a curtain had been unrolled from the heavens for the special purpose of hiding it. Then vivid flashes of lightning began to play on high among the beetling crags like a second Sinai; then tremendous salvos of thunder awoke

¹ Carregawg ("Full of Stone Boulders").

the echoes of the mountains, followed by a terrific wind and downpour of rain. The mountain brooks were soon rushing their waters into the Ceiriog and the Tarw, or "Bull" brook, so named because of its roarings.

By the way, a Madoc in this expedition was a distinguished son of King Owen Gwynedd, and there is still a bridge here on the Ceiriog called Pont Madoc, and another, Pont-y-Meibion, or the "Bridge of the Sons."¹ One ventures the conjecture that Pont Madoc marks the spot where Prince Madoc threw some sort of pontoon across the torrent for himself and his veterans, "who knew not what defeat meant," to get to the rear of Henry's pioneers, and that Pont-y-Meibion indicates where the pioneers were assailed that awful afternoon. In the Welsh idiomatic expression, Pont-y-Meibion, or "Bridge of *the* Sons," there is a ring of affectionate pride—whose sons? Wales's sons, of course. To the English army in the mysterious sounds environing them there was

"In every hollow dingle stood
Oft, wry-mouthed elves, a wrathful brood."

The King of England had had enough of it between the heavens and the "Sons," and he suddenly ordered his entire army to retreat; and bugle sounds in all directions were heard mingling with the roars of thunder and the loud babblings of the mountain brooks, and the sullen roar of the Ceiriog singing bass to the mighty anthem of the Berwyn ranges! The panic-stricken Henry cried in spirit as he gazed furtively around—

"Move off to hell, mysterious haze,
Wherein deceitful meteors blaze;
Thou wilds of vapour, vast, o'ergrown,
Huge as the Ocean of Unknown!"

Henry II. and his bedraggled staff of chief officers now broke away and galloped for Chester, after directing his entire

¹ Maadawg, meaning "Full of Amity." It was a title of the sun. The old bards, alluding to his going down west in his ark (Tebet), gave origin to the fable that Madoc discovered America before Columbus.—See Southey's "Madoc."

army to follow. What he did now on arriving at Chester Castle betrays he had been driven into a mad frenzy by what had befallen him and his forces in Glyn-y-Ceiriog ; he ordered all the Welsh hostages there, mostly sons of Welsh noble families, to be made blind. Among the sufferers were Meredith and Cynvrig, the sons of King Owen, and Howel, son of Prince Rhys, Dinevor. Thus we have two of Prince Rhys's sons blinded, the other, already mentioned in a former page, was another Meredith. Others, if not those also, were made eunuchs. Henry II. then ordered certain captive Welsh Gwenies to have their ears plugged that they might never hear music any more. Thus his cruelty equalled that of Nana Sahib of the Indian Mutiny. He then returned to London.

King Owen Gwynedd died soon after, in 1169. Prince Rhys returned home from the heights of Berwyn, and then set at liberty his uncle, Governor Sir Robert Fitzstephen. It seems that at this time Prince Rhys dwelt mostly at Whitland Abbey, and it is easy to picture him relating to his uncle there the incidents of the late expedition and the strange scenes on the Berwyn and in Glyn-y-Ceiriog. But soon after this the Welsh leaders fell into their old habit of quarrelling among themselves, due to jealousy of each other's status in Wales.

CHAPTER XL

BISHOP DAVID II. OF ST. DAVID'S (*d.* 1176)

PRINCESS NESTA DE WINDSOR married, it will be borne in mind, as her second husband, the said Sir Robert Fitzstephen, Governor of Cardigan Castle. He accompanied Henry II. to Ireland in A.D. 1172.

Gerald de Windsor left sons : Robert Fitzmartin, William Fitzjohn, and David Fitzgerald. This David became Bishop David II. of St. David's. They had an only sister, Lady Angharad. At the time of Princess Nesta's second marriage, her son Robert, by De Windsor, was dead, and her son Robert, by Fitzstephen, succeeded his father as governor of Cardigan Castle, &c.¹ But the new governor was unseated by Earl de Clare of Glamorgan, &c. This brought to Cardigan Castle Prince Rhys ap Gruffyth, the cousin of the deposed Robert, and he knocked the castle about the ears of De Clare.

David Fitzgerald became, first of all, Archdeacon of Cardigan, and afterwards from there he received the appointment of bishop. He ended his course as a munificent Prince of the Church of Wales in A.D. 1176. He had succeeded in 1148 the Norman Bernard, who well maintained the ancient outward prestige and dignity of the Church of Wales ; but he was as blind as a bat to the inner life and language of the natives of Wales. How such a dignitary hoped to be a cure of Welsh souls it is impossible to imagine. But the Church then was little better than a kind of Astrologist or Gipsy Fortune-teller, whose anathemas the masses, indeed all classes, dreaded.

Bishop David II. trained in learning his illustrious young

¹ She had three of her sons named Robert. It is impossible to account for "son of Martin," and "son of John." *Honi soit, &c.*

relative, Giraldus Cambrensis, or Gerald the Welshman, as he called himself. Giraldus himself died in A.D. 1222, but it is uncertain where is his place of rest. The latter's mother, Lady Angharad, was married, it will be remembered, to Lord William de Barri, and they were the parents of Giraldus Cambrensis, who was Archdeacon of Brecon. It will be borne in mind that Angharad was the daughter of Gerald de Windsor and Nesta; and Lord Rhys was the son of Prince Gruffyth Tudor (half-brother to Nesta) and of Princess Gwenllian, the daughter of King Gruffyth ap Cynan, North Wales. (*Myvyrian Archæology*, vol. ii. p. 434.)

As an indication of family pride, the following is interesting: Princess Nesta Tudor (de Windsor) called her son by Henry I. Earl Robert Fitzroy, or Son of the King. Princess Nesta called her son by Lord Gerald de Windsor also Robert "Fitz" Gerald, the "Fitz" being used as a title of honour in that instance. Then Earl Robert Fitzroy called his son by Lady Mably, Robert Fitzhamon's only child and heir, William, in honour of his own grandfather, William the Conqueror of England in A.D. 1066. Gerald and Nesta named their second son, William likewise. Then we have William de Barri, married to Lady Angharad, giving the name Gerald to their immortal son, Giraldus Cambrensis, in honour of Angharad's own father, Gerald de Windsor. It may be mentioned here that but for the death of Earl Robert Fitzroy in 1147, so great was his popularity in both England and in Wales, he would in all probability have been raised to the throne on the death of King Stephen in A.D. 1154. It is interesting to notice, as an indication of the prefix "Fitz" becoming to be used as an appellation of honour, that both Martin and John, Nesta's sons by Robert Fitzstephen, governor of Cardigan, had it placed in front of their surnames. This has been grossly misunderstood by writers, who have hinted they were Nesta's bastard sons! The names are proper names simply.

The foregoing powerful associations of Giraldus Cambrensis with the royalties of all Wales, were the potent reasons why Henry II. would not listen for a moment to the desire of the Chapter of St. David's, and indeed all

Wales, to have him appointed after his uncle, David II., to the See of St. David in 1176, on the demise of his uncle. Giraldus was a most zealous Welsh patriot, royal by double descents, and one of the most learned ecclesiastics in Europe, and a man of great personal charms of manner and of manly beauty.

On December 28, 1170, Henry II. had really directed the murder of Archbishop Thomas à Becket of Canterbury. He had since submitted to penances of the most painful and humiliating character by orders of the Pope and the Universal Church for it. David II. dying five years later, Henry II. was entirely mastered by the ecclesiastical authorities of Canterbury, and both from policy and personal dread of another à Becket rising in Wales, the king was prepared by force of arms to prevent Giraldus from succeeding his uncle in the Archiepiscopal See of Wales. As often stated, during many centuries the Papacy had sought to destroy the separate identity of the older Church of Britain surviving in Wales, and here was an opportunity to give it the *coup de grâce* by the repentant king's co-operation with the Pope and Canterbury. It was accomplished; and ever since the Welsh have called the Established Church erected upon the ruins of their own Church, "the Church of England," not, be it observed, "the Church of Wales." The assassin of Archbishop St. Thomas à Becket and of the gentlemen of Gwent at Abergavenny Castle, was also the assassin of the Apostolic Pauline Church of Ancient Britain surviving in Wales.

Among things that "might have been" are the following: Had Earl Robert survived to succeed King Stephen in 1154, Wales would probably have been united with England before the mere nominal union of 12 Edward I. by the Statute of Ruddlan in 1284 having the effect of making Wales a crown colony under its own laws. Another reason Henry II. had in view by making Canterbury supreme in ecclesiastical matters in Wales was making the papal orders of monks in order that they should become his spies and scouts in all Wales! Under the cloak of religion, a base iniquity!

A PRINCE OF WALES IN THE OLDEN TIME

We are indebted to Giraldus Cambrensis for a graphic description of Cyneurig, one of the sons of Prince Rhys, Dinevor Castle; doubtless it resembles in appearance and costume also that of his brothers, Maelgwn and Gruffyth, afterwards deadly enemies, both of whom and Cyneurig were among the congregation near Cardigan Bridge listening with their father, Prince Rhys, to the discourses of Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus himself in A.D. 1188, preaching the Crusade, or the duty of Christians to go to Jerusalem to rescue the sepulchre of Jesus from the Saracens.

The following is Giraldus's description of Cyneurig as he beheld him standing before him: "This young man was of fair complexion with curled hair; tall and handsome, clothed only according to the custom of the country, with a thin cloak and inner garment, his feet and legs, regardless of thorns and thistles, were left bare; a man not adorned by any art but Nature; bearing in his appearance an innate, not an acquired dignity of manners" (*Itinerary*, book ii. 110).

The custom of going about barefooted was universal among all classes in Wales, down to the end of the eighteenth century, due to the facility it afforded to climb slippery mountain sides and down them. In Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, referring to the Welsh, Henry says of them—

"Let the barefooted rascals on the mountains starve."

CHAPTER XLI

ANCIENT SCENES—KING HENRY II. AND BISHOP DAVID,
ST. DAVID'S (A.D. 1172)—SUPPRESSION OF THE IN-
DEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH IN WALES

THE following is almost a verbatim translation of the statement in the very ancient Welsh Chronicle. It seems by the context that it was penned by one who either himself witnessed what he describes, or obtained the full account from one who did.

Before coming to the narrative touching Wales, the scribe states as follows: "Five days after Christmas day, 1170, Archbishop Thomas à Becket was murdered by the advice and with the connivance of Henry II. He was slain at the altar of his own church of Canterbury, inside the Cathedral there, which is dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The said Archbishop was at the moment wearing his episcopal vestments, and holding in his hand the image of the Cross of Christ; and was coming to the close of the Offertory service." It appears here that St. Thomas, on the approach of his assailants, had lifted above his head the image of the Cross to awe and intimidate his enemies, but it had no effect upon them, until then a thing unheard of.

"In the same year, Richard, son of Gilbert, Earl of Clare; Richard of Chepstow and Pembroke; sailed for Ireland with a strong force. He there took Port Lachi, otherwise Waterford, and Wrexford. After that he made friends with King Dermot, and got his daughter in marriage. Through Dermot, Richard took the city of Dublin by assault." Some years later this Richard was slain in Wales.

Then the Chronicle goes on to allude to the combination headed by Pope Alexander against Henry II. in connection with the murder of the Archbishop. "The king

was invited to go to Rome himself, but he sent ambassadors instead." At this time, Rhys (Dinevor and Whitland), King of West Wales, was organising an expedition against Owen Cyveiliog, Powys; "for whatever Rhys proposed, Owen was sure to oppose it." The said Owen now promised to behave better in future, and "he sent to Rhys seven hostages to guarantee that promise." This Owen was an eminent bard and patron of poets. Many of his compositions are preserved, and his "Hirlas-Horn of Owen" has been translated into English prose by Evan Brydydd Hir, the assistant of Bishop Percy in his Welsh studies.

King Henry having patched a truce with Pope Alexander, "said he would go and conquer Ireland." Hume points out and ridicules the pretence Henry made, backed by the Pope, that his object in going to Ireland was to look after the future welfare of the souls of the Irish people. "For his expedition, Henry collected all the Princes of England, and those of Wales, that would accept his mandate." He then marched through South Wales to Pembroke.

Lord Rhys departed from Llwyn Davyth, county Caermarthen, to meet Henry II. This was about the time of the festival in honour of the birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary, then celebrated in Wales on each June 8th. The king and Rhys were now reconciled, Rhys agreeing to deliver to the king 300 war horses, and 4000 oxen apparently as meat for his Irish expedition, and 24 hostages as guarantee he would remain quiet while he was attacking Ireland. The king and his army arrived at Pembroke Castle, and conceded to Rhys, Cardigan, Llan Stephan, and Ewailvre.

Rhys now delivered from custody his cousin, Robert Fitzstephen of Cardigan. This fact proves that before attacking Earl de Clare at Cardigan he had secured the said Robert. This Robert now volunteered to accompany his father, Governor Robert Fitzstephen, with the king in his expedition to Ireland. Lord Rhys had that summer restored Cardigan Castle to the family of Fitzstephen, the children of his aunt, Princess Nesta Tudor.

Rhys now prepared to pay the king a personal visit at Pembroke Castle. This, states the Welsh Chronicle, was in October 1172. Rhys ordered the 300 war horses to be sent to the king. On the morrow, being Sunday, Rhys selected eighty-six of the horses as an instalment to be sent to his Majesty at Pembroke Castle on the next day. This selection appears to have been made by Lord Rhys at Cardigan. Then the narrative goes on. "When Lord Rhys arrived at his palace of Whitland Abbey, he heard for the first time that the king had gone beyond Pembroke on a pilgrimage to St. David's Cathedral. The king there presented two mitres, choral and aprons, for the choristers for God's service and gave also ten shillings."

"Archbishop David Fitzgerald invited the king to dine with him, but his Majesty declined, because of the great expense the Archbishop had already incurred on his behalf. . . . He had already dined three hundred of the king's followers, and among those guests was Earl Richard, who had come from Ireland to meet the king. So thronged was the dining place that many dined standing. It was St. Michaelmas Day, September 29, 1172." The king returned to Pembroke Castle while Lord Rhys was still at Whitland Abbey. He now sent on the eighty-six war horses to Pembroke Castle. But the king, while thanking Lord Rhys, said "he would only accept thirty of the war horses."

Rhys now proceeded himself to his Majesty, and had conversation (dawn) with Henry II. The king now restored to Rhys his blinded son Howel, who had been delivered as hostage in 1164. Other hostages were likewise set at liberty by the king. His Majesty further intimated he would not accept any more presents from Rhys. The king and his forces remained windbound at Pembroke some days longer, but eventually set sail and reached Ireland.

Lord Rhys must have known that his poor blind son, whom he had not seen for eight years, was among the king's entourage on this occasion, and the yearning of his heart for his son's liberation greatly influenced all his present actions. He masked his ire, that was all. The old Welsh chronicler has afforded posterity interesting

glimpses of the scenes of the king's visit, and of Rhys's actions.

LORDS MARCHERS OF WALES

The following is a list of the earliest "Norman Locusts," called Lords Marchers, who "won" landed estates from the Welsh:—

Fitzalan, Clun and Oswestry.
 Foulke Fitzwarren, Whittington.
 Roger Le Strange, Ellesmere and Knoking.
 Mounthalt, Hawarden.
 Peter Corbet, Caurs Castle and Manor.
 Theobald de Verdon, Mably.
 Sir Ralph Mortimer, Wigmore.
 Walter Lacie, Ewyas Lacie.
 Dru de Baladon, Abergavenny.
 Gilbert, Lord Monmouth of Monmouth.
 Lord Fitzhamon and twelve knights, Glamorgan.
 Bernard de Newmarch, Lordship of Brecon, containing three Cantrevs.
 Lacie, Earl of Lincoln, Lordship of Denbigh.
 De Gray, Dyffryn Clwyd, Rhythin.
 Roger Mortimer, Mochnant Cynlleth, or Chirk and Nant Edwy.
 The Breoses, Gower, Builth, Radnor, Melineth, and Elvel.
 Maurice de Londres, Kidwelly and Llanelly (Carnwyllion).
 Strongbow, Divers Lordships in Demetia, West Wales.
 Martin of Tours, Cemmaes, Pembroke.

Each Lordship Marcher was a small independent kingdom, and its lord acted as a sovereign prince, making what laws he pleased, and exercising it within his holding as he liked. But, that he might not be disturbed by the King of London, he had to renounce allegiance to Wales, and, at least nominally, to hold what he had stolen under the said king. The Welsh nation had to contend against all those, and also against the entire military power of England behind them, supporting them. To protect themselves from the Welsh nation, they built along the frontiers of Wales and England 160 castles, which means 160 garrisons. A felon from Wales or England could escape from justice into one or the other of them, and an English felon

from one lordship to another lordship, and would be there safe from the scene of his felony.

What the Welsh people suffered at the hands of those Lords Marchers in the twenty-one so-called lordships given in the foregoing is illustrated by the enumerations given officially in the following:—

“Whereas in Wales and in the Marches there are many forests belonging either to the king or to the Lords Marchers, wherein sundry actions have been committed for a long time, contrary to the law of God and Man; insomuch, that if any person entered the said forests without a token given him by any of the foresters as a licence to pass, or unless he was a yearly tributer or chenser, he was bound to pay a grievous fine; and if he should chance to be 24 feet out of the highway, he was then to forfeit all the gold or money which was found upon his person; and, likewise, a joint of one of his hands; unless he was fined for the offence at the discretion of the forester or farmer of the same. And whereas, likewise, if any cattle strayed into the said forests, it was the custom of the foresters to mark them for their own with the mark of the forest.”

“Whereas, by the gifts of the Kings of England, many of the most ancient prerogatives and authorities of justice, appertaining to the Imperial Crown of this realm, have been severed and taken from the same; it was by 27 Henry VIII. (1536) enacted, that no person should have power and authority to pardon or remit treasons, murders, man-slaughters, or any felonies or their accessories in any part of England, Wales, or the Marches of the same: that likewise, no person should make Justice of Peace or Justice of Gaol delivery; but they should in future be made only by the king's letters patent, and that all original writs, judicial writs, and all manner of indictments for treason-felony and trespass, and all manner of process, should be only made in the king's name; and that offences committed against the peace should be considered as offences against the king and not against any other person.”

Prior to this statute, it was customary with offenders to avoid punishment for offences in one March, or in Wales,

or England, to escape from one March to another, or to or from Wales and from England. Thus the Marches were refuges for all sorts of offenders, and Sir John Wynne of Gwydir states that a murderer might get scot free in any Lordship Marcher territory on payment to him of £5. It is positively sickening to thus learn what the Welsh endured in their own country at the hands of those Norman lords, who had succeeded in gaining a footing in the borders of Wales! How the Welsh survived the wrongs they suffered during several centuries is beyond comprehension, especially when we witness their own dissensions among themselves!

In the district of Caerphilly Castle, reminiscent of the stealing of their straying cattle, and marking them by the bailiffs of the Lord Marcher to be the property of the Lord Marcher, the Welsh invented the following curse upon an enemy, but more in fun than in anger. It is in Welsh, but thus translated: "May his soul go to Satan, and his carcase to Caerphilly." Caerphilly Castle and Park were in the valley below! North-west of it, a few miles away on the hillside, is the ancient village called Y Groeswen or the "Holy Cross," but literally "White" Cross. The use of the adjective '*Wen*, or *Gwen*, for "Holy" proves the extreme antiquity of the name there: the lofty mountain farther north-west is called Mynydd Maio, or the "Maying Mountain," where the young were wont to hold their Maying festivities of harp music and dancing on the green. Now, Caerphilly must have stood in the minds of many up there for Hades, the village of the Holy Cross for the earthly pilgrimage, and the heights of the Mountain of the Maying for Gwynvyd or Heaven.

CHAPTER XLII

A SERIO-COMIC AFFAIR IN WEST WALES, A.D. 1146

IN the following narrative we go back to a former visit of Henry II. to North Wales, and a former affair in West Wales.

Lords Cadell, Meredith, and Rhys, sons of the late Gruffyth and Gwenllian (Kedwely), sent an envoy to bard Howel, their cousin, one of the several natural sons of King Owen Gwynnedd, inviting him to go to West Wales to aid them with his advice in a movement against the Normans in that part. Howel complied; and shortly after we find them besieging Gwys Castle, co. Pembroke. Howel was a bard and a cultured scholar, with a taste for engineering, an acquaintance with which was extremely rare in Wales in those days; while most of the Normans were well trained in military engineering. During Howel's studies at Aberfraw, Anglesey, doubtless stimulated by reading Cæsar's Commentaries, he had invented an engine for hurling great stone blocks over the lofty walls of a fortress. Very quickly Howel's engines were in full blast, hurling great blocks of stones over the walls into the interior of this castle, and, at the same time, the walls were made to shiver by the thundering blows of great Welsh battering rams, each round being accompanied by tremendous Welsh hurrahs.

It was a very superstitious age, and Geoffrey of Llandaff's Merlinic stories were electrifying Wales, England, and, indeed, all Europe. In those tales it was recorded that the castle of fabulous Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu, the Latin for which name Geoffrey had rendered Vortigern, King of the Britons, had had his alleged castle in Howel's father's dominion repeatedly thrown down by earth-

quakes, caused by the fightings of two huge dragons flanking a pond, somewhere beneath the foundations of his castle, placed by Geffrey's fiction somewhere in the Snowdon country. It seems the Norman garrison of Gwys Castle concluded that Howel had now harnessed those two dragons, and driven them in tandem fashion from Snowdonia to West Wales, and that they were now engaged against that fortress! Doubtless they, while on the ramparts, with the Welsh assembled around the castle, kept an anxious look-out lest the two red dragons with open mouths and twirling, forked tails might come in at any moment, bounding over the high walls to them. What is historically certain is that the Norman garrison yielded, and at once surrendered the castle.

Howel returned to North Wales a noted celebrity. His sudden return home was due to a violent quarrel, and hostilities commenced between his uncle, Prince Cadwalader, his father, King Owen's brother, and Cynan, Howel's brother. Cynan and Howel entered co. Meirioneth, and ravaged the estates of their uncle. While so occupied news reached them that Henry II. had come to Chester, and both returned to join their father to oppose King Henry.

In A.D. 1193 Gwys Castle was again in Norman hands, but "Howel-Y-Sais," or the Englishman, as Howel, the blinded son of Lord Rhys, was now called, took the castle, and captured Lord Philliw de Gwys, his lady, and two sons. In 1220 Gwys Castle was destroyed by King Llewelyn the Great, son of Edward, grandson of King Owen Gwynedd.

CHAPTER XLIII

NORTH WALES—A LOVE AFFAIR AND A DUEL

TIME OF OWEN GWYNEDD, A.D. 1137 TO 1169

ANARAWD, brother of Lord Rhys, who was, it will be remembered, the son of Prince Gruffyth and Princess Gwenllian (Kedwely), had been promised in marriage his cousin, a daughter of his uncle, Prince Cadwalader, brother to King Owen Gwynedd, both sons of King Gruffyth Cynan. But the young lady thought proper to marry one of Anarawd's brothers instead. This Anarawd angrily resented, and blamed her father, whom he sought out and assaulted, and challenged him to a duel. It took place, and Cadwalader slew Anarawd.

King Owen Gwynedd was exasperated at what had taken place, and, entering Cadwalader's estates, he committed great depredations there, and destroyed Aberystwyth Castle, then the property of Cadwalader. Cadwalader escaped to Ireland, and there engaged a force of dare-devils to go in his pay to North Wales. And he sailed with this force towards Wales. Arriving in the Menai Straits, the Irish disembarked, and they began spreading over the country, helping themselves, and carrying young Welsh people on board their ships, to be sold as St. Patrick himself was once.

But as soon as Owen and Cadwalader beheld each other—Owen had marched to meet the invaders—the two brothers came to an amicable arrangement. It seems that Cadwalader returned to the Irish ships to make known that there would be no fighting. This greatly displeased the Irishmen, who probably had seen rich spoils of Wales glittering before their imagination. They told Cadwalader he himself was now their prisoner. He, as his own

ransom, agreed to give them in payment 2000 head of cattle. They had the cattle delivered to them, and then Cadwalader was allowed to go where he listed. But no sooner was he free than King Owen attacked the Irishmen, killed many of them, took back the cattle, and freed the captive young Welsh people. The surviving Irishmen left for home, poorer, fewer in number, and, let us hope, wiser than they came.

Owen had commenced his reign (A.D. 1137) by sending his sons, Howel and Cynan, to attack the Normans in West Wales, who were worrying his nephews of Dinevor, viz. Cadell, Meredith, and Rhys; and Owen's sons were eminently successful. They wrecked, among other castles, that of Cardigan; then burnt Caermarthen town, and slew many Normans and Flemings of Rhos. In this expedition they recovered for a time those lands the Lords Marchers there had taken from the natives. They then returned home with much spoils. It is curious in those forays after taking castles, &c., they never, or rarely, endeavoured to retain what they had won. Probably the reason was they were not numerous enough to do so in face of the combinations which would speedily muster against them from different Norman garrisons. All they hoped to accomplish was—destroy; and they hoped thereby to make Wales untenable to the foreigners.

The Bard Prince Howel's mother was an Irish lady named Pyvog, who was an heiress in Ireland. She died in A.D. 1171, and Howel proceeded to Ireland to take possession of her estates. But his absence from North Wales was his undoing. He, although an illegitimate son of the late King Owen Gwynedd (*d.* 1169), had succeeded in usurping the throne of his late father. On his return from Ireland, he discovered that during his absence his brother David had placed himself at the head of affairs. A battle ensued, and the Bard Prince Howel was mortally wounded. He left his estates in Clochran, Ireland, to his brother Rhiryd. Eight of Howel's poems are in the *Myvyrian*.

A RETROSPECT

HENRY II. INVADING NORTH WALES, SUMMER OF A.D. 1157

During the reign of King Owen Gwynedd, in 1148, he took Mold Castle by storm and razed it to the ground, according to the usual tactics of the Welsh princes. It soon became apparent that England was greatly moved by the repeated sufferings of the Lords Marchers on the frontier of Wales. It was, they held, very wicked indeed of the Welsh that they did not keep their hands in their pockets while being robbed by rascals with high-sounding titles !

Henry II. decided to invade North Wales and teach the Welsh a lesson in obedience. He came to Chester at the head of 30,000 fighting men to fight North Wales alone. King Owen, accompanied by his gallant sons, Howel, David, and Cynan, at the head of the Sons of Snowdonia, reached Holywell to meet the enemy, and they entrenched near Basingwerk. He despatched his sons, David and Cynan, on the right of his advance, in the forefront of his entrenched position. That forest where they went into is named Coed Haulo, or "Sunshine Forest." Henry II., now marching out of Saltney Marsh, Chester, and dividing his army into two divisions, sent one along the seashore towards Flint Castle. It appears the scouts under David and Cynan in the Sunshine Forest kept perfectly silent. Then Henry's other division crept to the left and then right and deployed into the said wood also, little suspecting they had been forestalled there by David and Cynan. It seems that the object of Henry in sending the other division along the seashore was to divert the attention of the Welsh king in their direction, while the other division crept to the left and then right of the entrenched position of the Welsh near Holywell.

The Welsh were not caught napping. It appears that Henry's second division, threading the leafy glades of the Sunshine Forest, went far in the direction of Holywell, when suddenly a roar of Welsh hurrahings broke from

the dense greeneries near them. It seems that those hurrahing could not be seen owing to the dense foliage, enriched by the sunshine. Instantly the terrible noise caused a panic in the English division, and they bolted as if Pan were in pursuit of them. The gallant Snowdonians leaped after them, and were soon hewing them down as they ran. Henry of Essex, the standard-bearer of England, flung the banner of St. George down to the Red Dragon and ran, leaving it behind. The character of the panic is illustrated by that fact alone. As he bolted he shouted, "The King is killed!" The runaways did not stop until they were back in Saltney Marsh (Hyt traath Caer).¹ Among those who fell of the English division were Lord Eustace Fitzjohn and Robert de Courcey. What saved the division from total destruction was that, at this most critical moment, Henry II. lifted up his vizor, and crying out it was he himself, it somewhat arrested the panic.

Some historians state that Henry now led a fresh charge, and drove the Welsh back into Coed Haulo. Had Henry done that, and had the other division, a short distance away from the Welsh left wing, advanced, the Welsh would have been trapped in the narrow route of retreat between the two divisions. That this did not take place, and that the Welsh army retreated leisurely towards its base, along Morva Rhuddlan, to a place called still Kil Owen, or Owen's Retreat, and finally to Bryn Pina, or Pinwydd (Pinewood), five miles west of St. Asaph, proves that Henry was not able to do anything of the sort. It is evident that after the Welsh retreated, to escape from the consequences which the threatened union of the two English divisions might entail upon King Owen, the two divisions did meet, or joined, on open Morva Rhuddlan, what was left of the 30,000 strong, and then advancing, encamped on the plain between Rhyl and Rhuddlan Castle. The Welsh contemporary Chronicle asserts the king's army was ten to one of the Welsh force.

Some little time before this, the Earl Randolph of

¹ *Myvyrian*, vol. ii. p. 567.

Chester, after largely recruiting in England, and assisted by Madoc, Prince of Powys, had marched along the very same ground, against North Wales. But, at Counsyllt, King Owen had defeated, and almost annihilated, their army, only a few, besides prisoners, escaping with their lives. Perhaps it was this expedition that caused the recall of Howel home by his father from West Wales. The Chronicle has here a quaint announcement to the following effect: "About this time, many English and Welsh went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and were much missed at home."

The date of the foregoing visit of Henry II. to North Wales is given as 1157. Henry the standard-bearer was removed from the army and made a monk: if he could not serve Satan, he might serve God!

It is difficult to comprehend why Henry II., who was encamped with what was left of his army of 30,000 on Rhuddlan Plain, between St. Asaph and the sea, refrained from delivering an attack upon King Owen's army by way of St. Asaph; for Owen was only five miles inland beyond, on Bryn y Pinwydd, doubtless entrenched there. The Welsh Chronicle states that Owen assailed Henry II. frequently; the words are, "day and night." A movement of the English fleet at this juncture seems to explain the reason why the king did not attack now. That fleet sailed from Chester, passed Rhyl and Llandudno, therefore, the Norman king's position was on its left, and entering the Menai Straits, the ships landed a force of marines in Anglesey on their right, and attacked the island. They sacked there the churches of St. Mary, St. Peter's, and many others. It states that this marine expedition was under the command of a son of Henry II. Probably he was one of this king's illegitimate sons. On the morrow the people of Anglesey rose *en masse* and hurried to meet the invaders, and attacked them with success. The latter ran away in the direction of their ships on the Menai Straits. But the men of ancient Mona were among them, slaying them on the run! The king's son, evidently in command, was killed, together with many other officers, besides the rank and file. Many were driven

into the sea by the Welsh, and were there drowned. (*Myvyrian Archæology*, vol. ii. p. 429.)

It appears that the object of this expedition to Anglesey was to relieve the pressure on the king's right in his direction from the Conway River, which empties itself into the sea below the entrance into the Menai Straits. It seems that for some reason the king deemed it too risky to leave his base at Rhyl and the sea, and march after Owen inland, because of some Welsh movements miles up on his right, on the Conway. The movements of his fleet from Chester attacking Anglesey was evidently with a view to divert the Welsh force in wait opposite Anglesey, across the Menai Straits.

We discover another reason why the King of England now hesitated—that was the suspicious attitude of Madoc, Prince of Powys, his ostensible ally in this expedition. We learn he was encamped between the armies of King Owen and King Henry, and his explanation was that he chose that position “that he might receive the first shock of King Owen's army.” This shows that, like Lord Stanley's force at Bosworth, he left both sides in doubt as to which he would attack at the critical moment. This conveys that Prince Madoc's force, consisting entirely of Welshmen, would, if the two armies came to blows, side with their fellow-countrymen, whatever was the intention of Prince Madoc himself, their commander. Thus we infer that Prince Madoc's army was in the left forefront of King Henry's army.

The fleet having failed in its object upon Anglesey, and the death of his son, all considerations combined to greatly discourage King Henry, and, to the amazement of King Owen, he sent a flag of truce to him, and proposed peace. Owen was delighted. One of the terms was that Owen should receive home his brother, Cadwalader. We thus see, for the first time, that all this took place while Cadwalader was recruiting in Ireland; and that when Cadwalader arrived in the Menai Straits with the Irishmen, his brother Owen had already agreed with Henry to receive him home.

Rapin states that by the treaty with Owen, Henry secured the right to construct roads through the woods of North Wales. That appears to have been regarded with delight by the Welsh, for those roads would be for their own convenience daily; but of course Henry's subtle object—and the Welshmen knew it—was to make the mountainous districts more accessible to him in any future expeditions he might deem desirable. Certain castles, which Owen had taken from the Normans, Owen now agreed to restore to the king's representatives on the frontiers of North Wales, A.D. 1157. In the recent fighting the castles of Rhuddlan and Basingwerk (Holywell) had been wrecked by the Welsh. Next year they were repaired by Henry, and he added to Basingwerk a monastery for, of course, foreign monks, who were too often in Wales mere Norman spies in the garb of religion.

We are confronted in the Chronicle by three different versions. The Saxon-Welsh Chronicle states that Prince Madoc, of Powys-Madoc, Owen's brother-in-law, commanded the English fleet in its attack upon Anglesey as a diversion in King Henry's favour. The Hengwrt Chronicle states that Madoc's force occupied the interval between the king's army and that of Owen. Caradoc of Llancarvan's Chronicle, under date 1156, states that Madoc had joined Cadwalader in inducing the king to undertake this expedition against North Wales. It is highly significant that no mention is made before of Madoc's presence with the king, either at Saltney Marsh, Chester, or in the decoy movement by the king along the sea coast, or in the simultaneous attack in Coed Haulo. We elect to believe that the statement in the Hengwrt Chronicle is the correct account, which the king's offer of terms to Owen, so soon after the disaster to one of his divisions, consisting of 15,000 men, appears to confirm. Other Welsh historians have never noticed the different statements, but they have accepted, without question, Caradoc's version, penned near the sea in far-off Glamorgan.

Prince Madoc was married to Princess Susana, sister of King Owen, and sister of charming Princess Gwenllïan,

who perished at Kedwely in A.D. 1138. Both Madoc and his wife are buried at St. Mary's Church, Meivod, Montgomery, which Prince Madoc built in A.D. 1153.

In reference to Madoc, the Hengwrt Chronicle states: "He was much lauded, and was by God favoured for his fair character. He was full of hope (*hyder*); was noble for his courage, was religious and charitable. He was affable with the obedient, but was terrible to his foes. He made a good end, closing his days in penance, took the sacrament of Christ's body, and after receiving extreme unction, he died" (p. 430).

It is interesting to give here the etymological meaning of the name Madawg (Madoc). It was originally one of the numerous titles the Druids gave the sun. "*Mâd*," pronounced *Maad*, signifies "Loveable"; the affix *awg*, signifies "full of," therefore Madawg means "Full of Loveableness." Merhedydd is another of the sun's titles; Mer or Mor, "the sea"; hedydd, "one who flies"; therefore the full name means "One who wings himself over the sea." Merddyn, from which Geffrey got his "Merlin the Prophet," signifies "a Sailor" or the "Lofty of the Sea" (Sun). It appears that it was customary among the Druids to apply to the Archdruid all the titles they gave to the Sun itself, whom the Archdruid represented on earth. Then, in the religious drama of the Druids, those and other titles were used freely, the Druids never dreaming of distant ages when their descendants would fall into the absurd error of mistaking the titles for the names of as many individuals! Thus, we repeat, it came in after days, subsequent to Geffrey's historical fables, to be believed, that some prince had sailed over the Western Ocean, and, "like King Arthur," never returned home again. Then some enthusiastic Welshman, eager for distinction for his nation, arrived at the conclusion that Madawg, "the Ocean Wanderer," was no other than Prince Madoc, a son of King Owen Gwynedd, and that he had gone to the West over the Atlantic, centuries before Columbus did so!

CHAPTER XLIV

SOUTH WALES

IN March 1172, Cadwalader, brother to Owen Gwynedd, died. That was before Henry II. proceeded *via* Pembroke for Ireland. The king returned early in 1173; for on Good Friday that year he was again at Pembroke, where he kept Easter. From there coming east, he came to Lord Rhys at Lougher, called Tal-a-Charn, in the MSS. He then proceeded to Cardiff Castle, where he was received by Earl William, son of Earl Robert Fitzroy. From there he went through Newport to Caerleon-on-Usk.

Now Edward (Iorwerth) son of Owen, a descendant of King Jestyn, who (Edward) had attacked Caerleon Castle, was invited to go to the king there, sending him a safe conduct. But Edward took his son Owen with him; and when the young fellow, described as a fine young lord, was on his journey between Cardiff and Newport he was murdered, he not having a safe conduct. The murderer was the Earl of Bristol, one of the king's illegitimate sons. Edward and his son Howel now broke away. The explanation is as follows: Henry II., in the terms agreed upon between himself and Rhys, gave Caerleon-on-Usk to Lord Rhys. Owen Edward, a royal scion of the family of Glamorgan and Gwent, and great-grandson of Rhydderch (*d.* 1031), son of King Jestyn, was the owner of Caerleon-on-Usk, and naturally resented being deprived of what his family had held for generations. But it seems that at the time of the king's visit he and his family thought it prudent to absent themselves from Caerleon-on-Usk Castle. It seems that Lord Rhys was with the king now. The king wanted to see Lord Edward, and sent him personally, as already stated, a safe conduct, but to no one else of the family.

Owen had before this engaged in hostilities against the arrangement Henry II. had compelled Lord Rhys to accept, and fighting had only been adjourned by a truce when the king came to Cardiff in person with his army from Ireland, accompanied by Lord Rhys. After the outrage upon young Owen, those engaged in the retaliatory attack were Lord Edward of Caerleon, Howel his son, and Morgan of Caerleon-on-Usk, son of Seisyllt, son of Lady Gladys, sister of Lord Edward, and many others. They sacked Caerleon-on-Usk and the castle, evidently after the departure of the king. They then passed with fire and sword through Hereford to Gloucester. Henry, after provoking all these disasters, left for the Continent, leaving Lord Rhys to face the storm: but bestowing upon him the empty title of Lord Chief Justice of Wales.¹

It is necessary to state here, that some points in the following pages may be better understood, that Lady Gladys was the mother of young Cadwalader who was murdered soon after the awful massacre within Abergavenny Castle, in which his father Seisyllt perished. Cadwalader was half-brother of the above-named Morgan Seisyllt.

THE MASSACRE OF THE GENTLEMEN OF GWENT, OR COUNTY MONMOUTH, AT ABERGAVENNY CASTLE

Lord William de Breos was Lord of Brecon, Abergavenny Castle, &c. He was descended from Milo Fitzwalter, from Lord Bernard Newmarch's daughter by Lady Nesta, daughter of King Gruffyth Seisyllt; therefore he had royal Welsh blood in his veins, which one is sorry for. Lady Maud St. Valeri was his wife. This surname the natives pronounced "Walbee," and called her "Mol Walbee." It is significant that a voluble woman is still called by the Welsh "Old Walbee," which seems to indicate Lady Maud was a notorious screecher with her tongue. In the Valley of Neath is a bridge which still bears the name Pont-Walbee, which name proves she had something to do with

¹ *Myvyrian Archæology*, vol. ii. p. 573.

constructing it across the classic Nedd, or Neath, river—the Nidum of the Romans.

One day Seisyllt of Overwent, while passing Abergavenny Castle, entered into conversation with its governor, and jocularly told him the castle was no adequate defence against the natives; that he himself with his friends and retainers could, at any time, scale its walls, and, pointing to a certain part of them, said “we could get in that way.” The governor replied it would be impossible. They then separated. But one morning soon after, the governor was astounded to find Seisyllt had been as good as his word, for he found Seisyllt, Evan his brother, and the last-named’s son, Rhydri, inside the walls. They were there detained till Lord William had been made acquainted with the episode. This seems to convey that the three had been unable to return over the walls, or that they desired to show themselves to the governor to prove the correctness of Seisyllt’s boast. They were, however, released, and apparently they returned home, laughingly, and proud of their midnight leaps.

But somehow Lord William, after brooding over the event, and perhaps after being chaffed by his fellow-Marchers about the incident and the ridicule it entailed upon his dignity, planned a terrible revenge. He appears to have said to himself, “I will make all these gentry of Gwent and their families, who are laughing now, to laugh on the other side of their mouths presently.” He went about like a tiger stalking his intended prey! After a little time Sir William de Breos issued invitations to about seventy, the *Brut* states, of the chief people of Gwent, now county Monmouth, to repair to Abergavenny Castle to meet him touching public affairs. We know the names of three only of those who attended, and they enable us to judge the social status of all. They were Owen Edward of Caerleon-on-Usk; Seisyllt, Overwent; and Howel, Penygarn. Edward only seems to have had a presentiment or misgiving that there was mischief intended, and had the foresight to conceal a sword about his person. Evidently the miscreant, Lord William, received them all with all the blandness of courtly

courtesy. But he had Norman soldiers concealed in the castle, and, clearly, as soon as his victims were safely inside the great hall of the fortress, issued private orders to raise the drawbridge and roll down the portcullis, or iron door over the entrance.

Then he himself, in a station of safety, made a speech to his visitors as to his object in inviting them to his castle. This was a peremptory request that not one of them would in future go about the country carrying either a sword, spear, or bow. And he demanded of them all to take a solemn oath on the Evangelists they would not. He knew they would not consent when he made the request. They all indignantly refused to agree to it. Then the diabolical fellow, by a preconcerted signal to the governor, ordered the concealed soldiers to enter the great hall and to kill them all. Without weapons of defence, they were soon weltering in their own blood, and the roar of the struggle must have reached the town. Instantly, Edward of Caerleon-on-Usk was wielding his sword with terrible effect upon all within his reach, and was cutting his way through the scene of the butchery, and he reached outside without a scratch; then, somehow, he cleared the moat and escaped. He was at the time in advanced age, for, thirty-six years before this (Sunday, February 2, 1141), he had, as already stated, under Lord Robert Fitzroy of Glamorgan, Empress Matilda's commander-in-chief, led the Welsh division to the charge at the battle of Lincoln, and he and they had then covered themselves with glory, and took King Stephen prisoner. Edward's name had been ever since ringing through all Britain.

Earl Gilbert de Clare, who had married Lady Amice, granddaughter to Lord Robert Fitzroy, commanded a division, at the same battle, from county Pembroke, and was made very jealous of Edward's honours. One day later this Gilbert had come, somewhere near Caerleon-on-Usk, upon Edward of Caerleon, engaged in fishing. He, after some high words, struck Edward. Edward struck back with his fist, killing Gilbert on the spot. Perhaps this event had rankled in the breast of De Breos. "William de Breos,"

states the *Brut*, "tore out the eyes of Howel, Penygarn, and afterwards endeavoured to lay the responsibility on Edward, no doubt attributing the act to Edward's sword thrusts when cutting his way out of that Abergavenny Cawnpore. Not another man escaped alive. Touching the character of the Welsh gentlemen massacred, and he who escaped, the Welsh Chronicle, p. 435, calls them Gwyrda Gwent, or the Gentlemen of Gwent. Immediately afterwards De Breos himself led his soldiers to Seisyllt's residence in Overwent, and, entering it, slew little Cadwalader, son of Seisyllt, in the presence of Lady Gladys, his mother, and set the place on fire. He then took the weeping mother back with him to Abergavenny Castle, doubtless that she might see her murdered lord! He seems after to have handed her over to her brother, Lord Rhys, Dinevor Castle.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote in A.D. 1188, says Henry II. was privy to the dreadful outrage, apparently an accessory before the fact (*Itinerary*, p. 46,¹ cap. iv.). Valiant Edward of Caerleon-on-Usk, with Howel his son, were soon ravaging the properties of William de Breos. That the latter was not called to account by Henry II. for so hideous an affair seems to confirm Giraldus's allegation against the King of England.

The terrible affair was soon thrilling every Welsh home, and the people rose and, hurrying to the scene, razed Abergavenny Castle to the ground. From there they proceeded towards Dingalstow Castle, near Monmouth, and slew Ranaulph de Peor and nine others of position. Peor was at the time high sheriff of Hereford. It was believed he had connived with De Breos. The villain himself escaped their vengeance. He retired to Brecon Castle, and made it stronger than before, no doubt fearing lest another party would scale those walls at night.

ANOTHER MURDER BY WILLIAM DE BREOS

A notable chief of county Brecon, named Trehaiarn Vychan, or Vaughan, was married to a niece of Lord

¹ Dent's edition, p. 248, 1908.

Rhys.¹ Somehow Vychan had incurred the ire of De Breos, and with a view to secure his person, an invitation to visit him and his wife at Brecon Castle was dispatched to Vychan. While in the parish of Llangors, and somewhere not far from the present Talyllyn station, on the Cambrian Railway, Vychan was waylaid and seized by De Breos's orders and placed in fetters. He was then dragged by horses with ropes through the streets of Brecon. His head was cut off, and he was then hanged for three days by his feet from a gibbet. The rest of the party, his wife, son, and brother escaped. Vychan was the grandfather of the Rev. Rhys ap Howel of Talgarth, who on November 16, 1326, led Lord Henry of Lancaster, and Lord William de la Zouch, of Mortimer, and a troop of horsemen, to intercept and capture Edward II. at a place still called Pant-y-Brad, or the "Depression of the Treason," between the Rhonda Valley and Llantrisant Castle, Glamorgan.

We glean that the murder of Vychan took place in A.D. 1197 from the following. In that year Gwenwynwyn, son of Owen Cyveiliog, succeeded his father in the principality of Powys. He was related to Trehaiarn Vychan aforesaid through Gwenwynwyn's wife, and he, immediately after learning of the murder at Brecon, marched to Payne Castle, Radnorshire, where De Breos was on a visit. Indeed, the castle belonged to him, and apparently he had gone there while the additions to Brecon Castle were proceeding. At this time Gruffyth, a son of Lord Rhys, was a prisoner in the hands of the Lords Marchers, and he was now set at liberty, on certain conditions, one of them being that he would march to Payne Castle and attack Gwenwynwyn, who was laying siege to it. He did so three weeks later. It is pointed out that Gwenwynwyn ought to have risked an attack to take it before Gruffyth could arrive on the scene. Gruffyth was married to Maud de Breos, hence Maelgwn's fierce opposition to his succeeding Lord Rhys, their father, which opposition sent him into the hands of Richard I. and the Lord Marchers, who now made use of him.

¹ *Red Book of Hergest*, vol. ii. p. 341.

Gwenwynwyn was defeated with the loss of 3700 of his men. The following prominent supporters of Gwenwynwyn fell :—Anarawd, son of Owen, son of Cadwallawn ; Rhydri, son of Jestyn, evidently a descendant of the king of that name ; and Rhydri, son of Howel, Lord Rhys's blind son. Meredith, son of Cynan, was captured and imprisoned. William de Breos was wounded, and his horse falling into a ditch, he was nearly captured.

Soon after this event William de Breos and his wife and son had to quit the country. This event was in 1198, therefore in the reign of King Richard I., who had ascended the throne on the death of Henry II. in 1189. We thus see that from 1177 until 1198 the awful affair at Aber-gavenny Castle continued to bear its fruit of horrors. King John after 1199, when he succeeded Richard I., had Moll Walbee and her son imprisoned at Windsor, bereft of food and drink, and both died of starvation. William de Breos died on August 9, 1212, when he was discovered as a dying beggar at Corboyl, Normandy. His son, Gyles, Bishop of Hereford, succeeded to his late infamous father's vast estates in Wales. He died, November 17, 1217, at Gloucester.

On the accession of Richard I., of the Lion Heart, Lord Rhys proceeded as far as Oxford, to do him homage as the new king. He had to return home without having seen him, and the slight exasperated Lord Rhys and his sons, with dire results to the foreigners in Wales. Lord Rhys's sons had long been angry with their father for his friendship for Henry II., and the conduct of his son now seemed to indicate that his father, Henry II., had simply used him as his tool, without a particle of real friendship on the perfidious king's part, and that Rhys's sons, especially Maelgwn, had long known it.

Powys, being on the frontier of East Wales and west of England, combined with the Lords of the Marches, and the pressure became too great to endure any longer by Gwenwynwyn, and he consented to become a vassal of King John.—A.D. 1199 to 1216.

It appears that it was Rhys's son Maelgwn who had been the most demonstrative of Lord Rhys's sons against his

submissiveness to Henry II., and so annoyed had his father been in consequence that he had disinherited Maelgwn. As soon as Lord Rhys reached home from Oxford he was now seized and placed by his sons in Trevdraeth Castle (now Newport), Pembroke, that he "might play the fool only in his own house." It seems that Maelgwn had the principal hand in this affair, and that it was he who guarded him. But Rhys's blind son, Howel, "the Englishman," in some way contrived to set him free, doubtless by means of a boat, the sea being quite close to the castle (*Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 439).

Lord Rhys seems to have arrived at the conclusion that after all his sons were right, and in 1193 he again revolted, and carried everything before him. But in 1196 he died. During his detention by Maelgwn, the sons of his son Cadwallon, wrecked Rhaiadr Gwy Castle; but their grandfather afterwards restored it. The old Welsh Chronicles give many other incidents, but we endeavour to make our way through the labyrinth along the incidents that are not merely local, but bearing on the main issue—namely, the national struggles to retain the native possessions from the hands of the spoilers.

We learn in p. 344 of vol. ii., *Red Book of Hergest*, that afterwards Howel, "the Englishman," was stabbed by the adherents of his brother, Maelgwn, and he died from the effects. He was buried in Strata Florida by his brother, Gruffyth, in the habit of a monk. Then Maelgwn engaged an Irishman and, giving him a battle-axe, he slew with it Cadivor, son of Giffri of St. David's, and his four sons, whose mother was Susana, daughter of blind Howel, and whose mother was the daughter of Madoc, the son of Meredith. But Gruffyth, with his Normans marching from Payne Castle, Radnorshire, assisted by his sons, won back all the estates which Maelgwn had deprived him of, reducing the castles of Llandovery and Dinevor. In a short time Gruffyth recovered his station as the heir of his father, the Lord Rhys.

Gruffyth died in 1202, and was buried with great ceremony and solemnity at Strata Florida, county Cardigan,

clothed as a monk. Rhys ap Rhys, sometimes called Rhys Gryg or "the Hoarse," and also the younger Rhys, succeeded him. His wife was a daughter of one of the Earls de Clare of Gloucester and Glamorgan. Rhys died at Llandeilo Vawr in 1233 and was buried at St. David's Cathedral. He was succeeded by Rhys, son of Meredith, the last named Meredith being a son of Lord Rhys who, by the way, was the last to be acknowledged under the title of Prince of South-west Wales. Long after, Rhys ap Meredith was made by crafty Edward I.¹ his cat's-paw against Llewelyn the Last, effectually holding back the Welshmen of South-west Wales from taking part with Prince Llewelyn against the ruthless king's savage inroads into all other parts of Wales. After Llewelyn had been slain by the conspirators, near Builth, Edward I. knighted Rhys, but to provoke him placed Norman officers in supreme authority over him. This Rhys naturally angrily resented, and he rose in revolt twice; but the second time he was captured, taken to the king at York, where he was hanged and quartered on April 2, 1292. His disloyalty to Llewelyn and the national cause must have haunted his last moments, and made him feel the retribution was just. Edward I. looked upon him with contempt. His lands and castles were given by Edward I. to Sir Robert de Tibetot, the principal Norman who had provoked him to revolt, and who captured him on his return to Wales from Ireland.

¹ Apparently promising him the succession to the throne of all Wales after Prince Llewelyn ap Gruffyth's death.

CHAPTER XLV

THE ADVENT OF LLEWELYN THE GREAT

(A.D. 1197-1202-1240)

As intimated already, on the death of King Owen, called Owen Gwynedd, son of Gruffyth ap Cynan, in 1169, Howel, the gifted illegitimate son of Owen, seized upon the government of North Wales. He held it two years (1171) when he died from his wounds in fighting Prince David, his half-brother. The heir was Edward of the "turned up nose," a term we repeat we suspect implied, not disfigurement of the nasal organ, but the insufferable egotism of the prince. He was passed over by the State Council of North Wales, and David became eventually the sovereign.

It appears there had been a widespread conspiracy, but chiefly in the family, against David, doubtless in favour of Edward, notwithstanding the ban of the Council; and as soon as David ascended the throne, he proceeded to deal ruthlessly with all his brothers, and that the usurpation by Howel was but an incident in the opposition to David in favour of Edward. David now imprisoned all his brothers except Maelgwn, a name meaning "Coat of Mail," and Rhiryd ("God's Ford"), who made good their escape. Maelgwn reached Anglesey and was protected there during three years, when he was compelled to flee to Ireland from David's wrath.

In 1177 Rhiryd also reached Anglesey, where the people rallied around him. It appears that David was content to let them alone, as long as they did not interfere on his side of the Menai Straits. In this year (1177) King David married Princess Emma, sister to Henry II. The power wielded now by David is seen in the fact he sent a thousand fighting Welshmen to assist Henry II. in Normandy. But it

seems his underestimating the power of Maelgwn and Rhiryd was fatal to him. Maelgwn and a force came from Ireland, and those joining Rhiryd's supporters in Anglesey, the allies crossed the Menai into Carnarvonshire, and forced King David south across the Conway River and as far as Rhuddlan Castle. But David afterwards recovered all North Wales, including Anglesey, and again imprisoned all his brothers he could lay his hands upon. But Maelgwn again escaped, and succeeded in liberating all the others, and they scattered in all directions, some to Glamorgan and others to Ireland. (*Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. 575.)

Edward the Conceited had a brilliant son, who became known as Llewelyn the Great. Edward had married a sister of Owen Cyveiliog, and on his exclusion had retired with his wife and son to Shrewsbury, to his brother-in-law. He left them there, and himself went farther south, to the regulus, Caradoc ab Jestyn, at Caerleon-on-Usk. His son Llewelyn at Shrewsbury was now under the supervision of cultured Owen Cyveiliog, who took care that the talented Llewelyn was properly trained. King David, some years later, enticed Edward, his half-brother, to go from Caerleon-on-Usk on a visit to himself at Aberconway, near Llanrwst. While there, Edward, to his surprise, discovered that his life was in imminent danger from David, and he escaped; and while on his way towards the Sanctuary of Pennant, Maelingell, county Meirionyth, he was overtaken and slain at a place ever since called Bwlch Croes Edward ("The Mountain Opening of Edward's Cross"), eight miles south of Bala. His memorial stone is still seen in the churchyard there, bearing the epitaph, *Hic jacet Etwart*, or "Here lies Edward."

David having married an English princess, his violence to his brothers, and to cap all other iniquities, the murder of the unfortunate Edward, his eldest brother, son of King Owen Gwynedd, alienated all the best people from him, and seem to justify the dislike his brothers entertained for him always. The gifted Howel was the ringleader in opposition to him, and as after events proved, more

from a sense of David's unworthiness to sit on the throne than from his own personal ambition. It would appear that this murderous design against Edward was largely due to the great talents manifested at Shrewsbury by Llewelyn his son, at the cultured Court of Powys at Shrewsbury.

In A.D. 1197, or twenty-eight years after the death of Owen Gwynedd in 1169, Llewelyn appeared in the midst of his supporters on the northern side of the Conway, and soon David was defeated, and he fled to England. He there gathered an army, and returned to North Wales, but, as the Welsh say, "*yr oedd wedi chwech arno*," and he was again defeated by Llewelyn, and captured, together with his son Owen, on the Conway. He was forgiven first time he did this, but after this his second attempt with foreign troops, he and his son were executed. This was in 1204.

HENRY III., A.D. 1216-1272

On the frontiers of Wales facing England, were practically one hundred and sixty Norman garrisons (Pennant). That was the number of castles which the Norman Lords Marchers had built in order to hem in the Welsh, and from which they frequently made forays into Wales, stealing what they could. There were twenty-one owners to those castles, and when the Welsh came against them the twenty-one lords sallied forth from one hundred and sixty castles to oppose them, and they were backed by the power of the crown of England.¹ The crown appears to have regarded those lines of castles as a defence of England from the Welsh nation. What a lion-like aspect this fact gives to the dear old Welsh! But by degrees the Lords of the Marches themselves became a menace to the Crown itself, and in combination with the Welsh the allies could have upset the Government of England.

At last Henry III., seeing the danger to his crown from

¹ There were forty castles in the Campania of Glamorgan in addition.

the growing power of the Norman Marchers on the frontier of Wales, endeavoured to reduce them into subjection to the Crown. And Edward I., his son, after, at the Castle of Rhuddlan above Rhyl, he had come, in 1284, into a settlement with Wales, withdrew from all the Lords Marchers their practical independence of the crown of England. Thus we see that the Welsh were treated as a separate nation with whom England now proudly jointly entered into treaty of peace; and Edward then forced the Lords Marchers, *volens volens*, into subjection to the crown. In the Statute of Rhuddlan Wales is treated as a rival power, with whom England entered into a treaty, securing conditions agreeable to both nations. But no treaty at all was made with the Lords Marchers, but they were sternly ordered by Edward I. to submission (12 Edward I., chap. v.).

Edward II., the first English Prince of Wales, was born April 25, 1284, at Caernarvon, not being then the heir-apparent of Edward I., that heir being his brother, Prince Alphonso. When Edward his brother became Prince of Wales, he was clearly intended on his appointment to take the place of a Welsh sovereign over all Wales, but a sort of a satellite-associate of that regal sun, Edward I. of England. One hindrance to this had been Llewelyn the Last, and he had now been removed, so that the throne of North Wales was free to Edward his son to occupy. There was a *quasi* throne in Wales, that of West Wales, which had for its heir the already-mentioned Rhys ap Meredith, Dinevor Castle, who might at any moment cast off his allegiance to Edward I. and head Wales from the West, as the late Llewelyn had done from the North. These considerations were what actuated Edward I. now against Rhys ap Meredith, Dinevor Castle. After the death of Llewelyn the Last, Rhys ap Meredith revolted twice against Edward I., but it was now too late. Had he done so with Llewelyn, there is no manner of doubt Edward I. would have been handsomely defeated by united Wales, for it had almost been done by Llewelyn alone. Llewelyn was murdered at the instigation of Edward at

Builth, on December 10, 1282, and Rhys ap Meredith was hanged at York in 1292. The whole of Wales had been secured as a satrap country associated with the Crown of England by the Statute of Rhuddlan, April 19, 1284 (12 Edward I.), and by the removal of Rhys ap Meredith in 1292, the last resistance to its recognition as binding upon Wales and England was at an end, as it appeared at the time. There is no question Edward meant his second son, Edward of Caernarvon, to be a kind of Prince-Viceroy of Wales, subject to the Crown, but not of the Realm of England. That came about by a petition of the representatives of Wales, and was granted by 27 Henry VIII. (1536). At the time Edward of Caernarvon was born, and accepted by Wales at Rhuddlan Castle some time in March 1284, Prince Alphonso, his eldest brother and heir-apparent of Edward I., was alive. It was the death of the said heir-apparent that made him, who was already Prince of Wales, also heir-apparent. We thus see that it was really the heir of Wales who became King of England also.

Even after the death of Prince Alphonso it would have been most impolitic on the part of Edward I. to remove the young Prince of Wales into England, for his removal would have been regarded by Wales as the abrogation of the Statute of Rhuddlan, although Edward of Caernarvon is not named in it. It appears that the Statute of Rhuddlan had been confirmed by Edward I. and the Estates of Wales on April 19, 1284, whereas it was uncertain until the 25th, when Edward of Caernarvon was born, who would be the next Prince of Wales. It appears as if the omission of the name of the next Prince of Wales from the said statute was at the time generally recognised by the Lords of Wales assembled at Rhuddlan, as due to the delicacy of Edward I. touching the rival claims of Roger Mortimer, Wigmore Castle, and Rhys ap Meredith, of Dinevor Castle, but that King Edward himself was secretly ardently hoping the child about to be born at Caernarvon, where Constantine the Great was born (Nennius), might be a son, and that

the matter would thus be settled, as it was settled finally and stands to the present day.

Edward I., by way of asserting the suzerainty of his son as King of Wales and Earl of Chester, summoned him as such to attend on June 2, 1302, his Parliament in London as his suzerain. He was then aged eighteen. It will be noticed that 1302 was the twentieth year since the death of Llewelyn y Llyw Ola. Prince Edward was then in his nineteenth year, and summoning him now to Parliament, under the title Prince of Wales, appears like an effort on the part of the king to assert, in the person of his son, a continuity of the ancient royalty of Wales. It was intended as a rich sop to the Welsh people, whose pride it was hoped would be thus mollified by the act. He was treated as if he were Llewelyn's heir come of age.

After the foregoing digression as a retrospect and in anticipation of what follows, we return to King Llewelyn the Great, son of Edward, murdered at Bwlch y Groes. Llewelyn the Great's brilliant reign of forty-six years came to an end in 1240, or forty-eight years before the treaty of Rhuddlan was signed by the representatives of Wales and King Edward of England. We have now to deal briefly with the events of those forty-eight years.

NORTH WALES

In 1198 we find Llewelyn the Great seated on the throne of North Wales, and, as already stated, he held it against all comers until 1240, when he died. His first wife was Queen Tanwystl; his second wife was Princess Joan, called "Shiwan" in the Welsh records, daughter of King John, and sister to Henry III. By the first wife he had a son named Gruffyth; by the second a son named David—another David near the throne, be it remembered.

A short time before his death, Llewelyn, their father, summoned all the chiefs of Wales subject to himself to a

Parliament at Strata Florida, co. Cardigan. It was his farewell to the estates of Wales. He felt the end was not far from him, and he now sought to place his house in order. He recommended as his successor on the throne Prince David by Queen Joan. There cannot be a doubt the aged king acted in a manner he thought best for the interest of Wales, by recommending the nephew of the then reigning sovereign of England, namely Henry III., the brother of Queen Joan. The Parliament agreed with the king's recommendation, and promised to support Prince David.

But the Welsh masses were ever staunch sticklers for the legal heir to a throne, and never thought of trimming their sails to meet the breeze of policy, however wise. In thousands of homes there was dissatisfaction at the arrangement ; many no doubt attributing it to the infatuation of the old king for his lovely English wife ; and the selection of one, half of whose blood was "English," to the exclusion of one, like Prince Gruffyth, in whose veins, according to the legend, flowed the unadulterated royal blood of Brutus of Troy. The thing was preposterous in the eyes of the Gwerin (masses), from one end of Wales to the other. Another apple of discord had now been thrown among the lively natives. Queen Joan, had been now dead since 1236, and had been buried by her own wish on the sea-shore of Llanvaches, Anglesey, and King Llewelyn was now occupied in building a monastery over her sepulchre ; a sure indication as to the baseless character of the scandalous libels afterwards invented by the supporters of Prince Gruffyth as to her morality.

THE BABY PRINCE DAVID AND GELERT THE HOUND : AN OLD FABLE EXPLODED

We have seen, in a preceding page, that Prince Edward, father of Llewelyn the Great, was excluded from the succession to the throne of Owen Gwynedd, his father, by an amusing allegation that his "nose" was too high to

become a throne. It will have been seen that we believe this after all was a way of stating he was too fond of what the English call "cocking up his nose" conceitedly. The story of the king, baby, and Gelert, the faithful hound, is a phase of the solar myth found among all ancient nations, and was adapted by the English supporters of Prince David. The "infant" is the same as Infant Arthur, Taliesun, Jove, Horus, Chrishna, &c. The wolf is Satan, the faithful hound is Elphin (Alpha)¹ of the *Mabynogion*. (See Baring Gould's *Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 134.)

The Druid-Bards, not to be behind the inventing monks in lies, concocted a scandalous fable to the effect that Queen Joan was in her day no better than an adulteress in the home of her husband, King Llewelyn the Great. That she was the paramour of one Lord William de Breos, Brecon; therefore, that it was more than doubtful as to who was really the father of King David: that he might be the son of that Lord William de Breos, who was, it was alleged, Llewelyn's prisoner at the very time the said David was begotten. The said William de Breos was of the race of the William de Breos who had murdered the Welshmen at Abergavenny Castle,² therefore had the blood of a murderer in his veins. Princess Joan was truly much beloved by her husband in life; she, too, seems to have much loved Wales, for by her last will and testament she elected that her mortal remains should be deposited, not in Westminster Abbey, but by the sea-shore in sacred Mona, near Beaumaris. This seems to prove that the lies were invented after the death of her husband, and during the turmoil touching the succession, between 1240 and 1246.

It appears conclusive that King Llewelyn's principal object and basis of argument at the Parliament at Strata Florida in favour of selecting Prince David, and excluding Prince Gruffyth, was the alliance with England, which was likely to accrue through Prince David's close relationship

¹ The native British name was Hea Gadarn, "The beginning" (Rev. iii. 14).

² A.D. 1176.

with the royal family of England. It was a masterly move on his part ; but Henry III. had already decided [otherwise when opportunity offered—namely, to thrust his own son, Prince Edward, and not Prince David, his sister's son, into the throne of North Wales.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE TRAGIC DEATH OF PRINCE GRUFFYTH, SON OF LLEWELYN THE GREAT: A MIDNIGHT HORROR AT THE TOWER, LONDON

IMMEDIATELY after the death of King David, 1246, the whole of North Wales and the provinces of West Wales and Powys-Madoc and Powys-Gwenwyn-'Wyn, were thrown into commotion as to the next succession to the throne of North Wales; for the law of succession laid down, as already stated, remained in force, to the effect that the provinces of West Wales and Powys were held *in capite* by the crown of North Wales. For notwithstanding that, since A.D. 1172, West Wales, by the act of Lord Rhys, Dinevor Castle, had yielded its sovereign rights to North Wales in the reign of Henry II., but the supremacy of the crown of North Wales remained in full legal force; for, legally, Lord Rhys, Dinevor, had only yielded his own suzerainty. Both Powyses were in much the same predicament, but still nominally under the throne of North Wales.

The kingdom of Glamorgan and Gwent (co. Mon.) had long lost its independence entirely, and Glamorgan and Monmouth acknowledged the paramountcy of the Norman chief lord at Cardiff Castle; but with some exceptions among the hills and in the Vale, where the inhabitants still continued to enjoy the ancient native laws. Gwent appears to still enjoy a separate jurisdiction, with a *Regulus* who was of the lineage of King Jestyn, but it is not clear, yet seems probable, that it fared like Glamorgan generally.

Prince David had assumed the crown of North Wales, as his late father and the nobles of the three provinces had established it should be the case at the National Council at Strata Florida. There is reason for believing that Prince

David had acted for sometime as Regent during Llewelyn, his father's lifetime, after the old king had become a victim to paralysis, which, as is often the case, had in some measure affected Llewelyn's intellect and speech. Thus it was feasible for Prince David to continue at the head of affairs. Prince Gruffyth, however, prepared to contest the succession by force of arms. But while hostilities were imminent, Prince David invited Prince Gruffyth to a conference, and he complied; but while on his way to the place of meeting, the perfidious King David had him arrested, and lodged him in Criccieth Castle.

Henry III., pretending indignation, marched into North Wales; but the expedition resulted in Prince Gruffyth being taken out of King David's way and removed to the Tower of London, and it appears that several noblemen, his chief supporters, were taken with him. Princess Sina, his wife, and his eldest son Owen, volunteered to share his captivity. Prince Gruffyth had an allowance of a noble a day (6s. 8d.) for maintenance in the Tower. It seems that at the Tower of London the exiles of Wales were allowed to forgather together, for we learn that they decided to attempt on one night to escape from the Tower. Prince Gruffyth had, it is alleged, made a rope with his bedclothes. Having fastened this rope from his window facing the Traitor's Gate, and high up on the south-west of the tower at the western end of the chapel—the window is still shown to visitors—he began the descent towards liberty, and Wales! But the prince, being a heavy man, the rope broke and he fell into the path below, turning a somersault in his fall; for, it is alleged, he alighted on his head which was driven in between his shoulders. It will be seen later, Prince Llewelyn believed his father was murdered.

It appears that some of his fellow-prisoners from Wales, less weighty than he, had gone down in safety before he himself made the alleged attempt, and they reached Wales. But others who had descended were captured by the Tower guards before they reached the open. Princess Sina his wife, and Owen his son, it is reported, were witnesses of the catastrophe. They were both set at liberty on parole by

Henry III. We learn that young Owen became a favourite at Court, therefore he must have often met there Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I. It is highly probable that the friendship thus engendered between them contributed much to Edward I.'s dislike for Llewelyn the Last, Owen's brother, as will be seen further on.

King David, Gruffyth's half-brother, soon heard of the death, and now began to refer to Prince Llewelyn, Prince Gruffyth's son, under the cognomen, "my cousin, Prince of Wales," he himself being King of North Wales, and chief lord of the two Powyses and West Wales. Here David follows the English style. Prince Edward became furious because of the title given by King David to Prince Llewelyn, for it was an intimation he was acknowledged as King David's heir-presumptive. Prince Edward's fury was, states the old Chronicle, like that of a lioness bereft of her cub.

Henry III. now issued a proclamation that King David was no longer the sovereign of North Wales, &c. In his dilemma, caused by the manifesto of Henry III. ousting him from the throne, King David now appealed to the Pope, offering to act as the suzerain of the Holy Sec. The Pope appointed an ecclesiastical commission to ascertain whether King David made the offer to the Pope from force and terror. His Holiness appointed the Abbots of Cymmer, near Dolgelley, and he of Diganwy, on the Conway, to act as assessors, and Henry III. was summoned by the Pope's mandate to attend at the church of Caerwys to give evidence. This excited exasperation in England, from Henry III. downwards. Of course Henry III. was guilty of unendurable conduct, and was on that account the more annoyed with David, his nephew, and with his Holiness, for parading his iniquity thus in sight of all men. It was the feelings of a thief against a police officer detecting him.

King David had lavished money on the Pope; Henry did likewise, and gave more—his Holiness had a grand time!—and that turned the scale in Henry's favour, and poor David was left to the mercy of Henry III. and Prince Edward, and the Barons of England; but, nevertheless,

with his brave countrymen around his Red Dragon standard he defied all.

King David was now summoned by Henry III. to Westminster with his nobles. He himself did not go, but about twenty of his chieftains went. King David now decided to appeal to swords and shields, and he dashed along the marches of Wales, and devastated the lands which the Lords Marchers held, and also the estates of others that backed the pretensions of Henry III. and his arrogant son, Prince Edward.

Henry was in Scotland when the storm broke out in North Wales, but he and his son were soon marching into North Wales. The Welsh fell back north of the river Conway; Henry III. reached the southern bank of that classic river of Wales, which many time and often formed a limit to England's invasions of North Wales. This is alluded to by the popular proverb, "England, Wales, and Llanrwst" (Lloegr, Kimmri, a Llanrwst), placing Llanrwst itself on an equality with the two countries mentioned. Henry's army were starving; winter was drawing near; and the valiant sons of Eryri, Lleyn, and Eifonydd often dashed upon the suffering soldiers of Henry. In one of the forays made by Henry's troops, the English brought back to the king one hundred heads of Welshmen decapitated. Those were soon awfully avenged by the Welshmen. They captured many of the soldiers of Henry in search of food, and, taking them up along the northern side of the river, they first beheaded them, then cut them limb from limb, and flung the human fragments into the Conway. It is a tidal river, and the scene was not more than a couple of miles from its mouth. The flowing and ebbing tides carried those fragments backwards and forwards before the eyes of Henry and his army. King Henry and Prince Edward were soon on their way back to England at the head of their forces. But soon after the departure of Henry III., King David died at Aberconway, in the year 1246, which was 30 Henry III.

In passing, it may be mentioned that whenever an English king invaded North Wales, he invariably em-

ployed Irishmen to cross into Anglesey, via Holyhead, to attack Anglesey, to draw away some of the weight pressing against him on the Conway. Another object was to destroy the supplies of the Welsh, otherwise Kimmerian, army. That had been done on the present occasion.

The important question which now presented itself to the consideration of North Wales was, who was to be the next King? for David left no issue. Prince Edward of England took for granted that he, being David's cousin, was his heir to North Wales, and to all the other rights or dues subject to that throne. But the people of all Wales thought otherwise, and were not slow to assert their opposition to Prince Edward, and they assembled in Parliament at Strata Florida Abbey and there elected as joint-sovereigns of North Wales the brothers Owen and Llewelyn, sons of Prince Gruffyth, and grandsons of Llewelyn the Great.

In doing this, the Parliament placed them over North Wales, and in chief over the two Powyses and West Wales. According to strict law of inheritance, Prince Owen ("Owen Lawgoch"¹) was the sole heir from Gruffyth ap Cynan.

It seems that the only solution of the problem as to why Llewelyn was added to Owen is that Llewelyn had manifested such uncommon high qualities as a statesman, that, while acting within the law by retaining Owen, it was felt that the State could not afford to leave out of the ruling station the greatly gifted Llewelyn the Last, as he proved to be till his death at Builth, December 10, 1282.

It is important to observe that the ratification of even an hereditary right to the throne was vested in the Parliament or State Council of North Wales, as was seen before in the rejection of Prince Edward of the strange-looking "nose," the father of Llewelyn the Great.

We know the state of Owen's own feelings by what followed nine years later; but on the present occasion he concealed his resentment. Matters went on amicably, as

¹ Owen of the Bloody Hand.

far as is now known, between the two brothers till 1255—nine years later—when the hidden fires in Prince Owen's bosom burst forth, and, taking with him his brother David, he took the field against Prince Llewelyn, and he led an army to Bryn Derwen, co. Denbigh, against him, and a battle ensued; but in an hour of carnage, Prince Owen was routed, and both he and Prince David were taken prisoners by Llewelyn. With the magnanimity of a great mind, Llewelyn spared their lives, but placed both out of harm's way in the castle of Dolbadarn, Llanberis, beyond the Conway, therefore within the boundary of the reserved dominion of North Wales, as defined in the treaty with Henry III. in 1246.

It is significant that Prince Owen's principal force came from the Cantrev of Duffryn Clwyd, one of the four cantrevs conceded in that treaty to Henry III., and which ever since had been, with the four others, governed by the Norman Farmer-General, under Prince Edward of England. Within them was Caergwrle, otherwise Hope Castle, near Mold. There, it seems, was concocted afterwards the treacherous Welsh letter in 1282, which decoyed Prince Llewelyn, December 10, 1282, to his death near Builth.

Prince Owen spent twenty-three years a prisoner at Dolbadarn Castle. In 1277, he was set at liberty by a clause to that effect in a new treaty between Llewelyn and Edward I. who had been king since 1272. Owen's private estates were also restored to him, but where they were situate we know not, but it appears they were in some reservations in close proximity to the Cantrev of Duffryn Clwyd. It will be seen presently that after King Llewelyn's victory on November 6, 1282, at Moel-y-don, Porthdinorwych, above Bangor, over King Edward, the last-named retreated with great celerity many miles, first to Rhuddlan, and then to Hope Castle, Mold, and Flint, for there was imminent peril that Llewelyn's victorious army might swing out its right wing, and get to the rear of King Edward's army between the Conway River and Hope Castle, &c. But this by the way, we shall come to the

matter in detail presently ; but we add here that there is every reason to believe that King Edward now summoned to his council at Hope Castle, Prince Owen, King Llewelyn's deadly enemy, and that Llewelyn's capture and death were the result of an unknighly, dastardly scheme set on foot at that Council of War within Hope Castle, and that Prince Owen assisted at it with diabolical malice. This is the "Owen Lawgoch," or "Owen of the Bloody Hand," still a popular expression of derision in all parts of Wales. There is always an addendum to the proverb, which is untranslatable, which implies he had been made an eunuch. But one can hardly believe Llewelyn could have been guilty of that atrocity ; still, good men are sometimes led by anger to commit acts at which, in calmer moments, they would recoil from with horror.

EDWARD THE FIRST AND LLEWELYN THE LAST :

A.D. 1246—A.D. 1282

Henry III. having, in 1244, ignored King David, his nephew, proclaimed Prince Edward, his son, Prince of Wales. But the action of the Parliament of North Wales and the suzerainties of Powyses and West Wales, appointing Prince Owen and Prince Llewelyn joint sovereigns, greatly annoyed those chartered brigands with high-sounding titles, stationed along the borders, and called Lords Marchers or Marquesses. The appointments were, too, a slap in the face to Henry III. Probably the Welsh nobles hardly gave a thought now to Prince Edward (Edward I.), who, in 1247, was in his eighth year. He had, in 1244, been proclaimed proprietor of all the lands from the borders of Cheshire and practically the most fertile lands north of the Dee to the Conway River, and a certain Norman lord had received from Henry III. the said lands to farm : he paying so much to the king, and then he had to squeeze as much as he could besides from the Welsh farmers. This was done with a vengeance by successive bailiff lords for the king and themselves.

The position of the farmers became to be unendurable.

The late efforts of the deceased King David to relieve North Wales from the foreign encroachments had been so exhausting that, at the time of the election of the two brothers, Wales was on the verge of famine; for the fleet of the Cinque Ports hovered around the coast, and prevented supplies from reaching Wales, already impoverished by wars.

Witnessing the dreadful sufferings of their people, Thomas, Bishop of St. David's, died of grief; William de Burgh,¹ Bishop of Llandaff, lost his sight through weeping—he was blind seven years, dying in 1253. Richard, Bishop of Bangor, went to the Abbey of St. Albans for food; he had excommunicated the late King David for his violation of his oath, by capturing, imprisoning, and finally delivering Prince Gruffyth into the hands of Henry III. Edward Ednyved, Bishop of St. Asaph, went to Oxford for alms, and died there in 1247. The condition of the bishops being so sad, what must have been the state of the people generally? A most expressive sentence has come down to us from those days of desolation, viz., "The Cambrian harps were no more heard in the homes of the minstrels."

The Welsh Parliament met at Strata Florida, Cardigan, in gloom and sorrow, and environed by mortal foes in every direction. But they still, with a courage characteristic of "the olde Britons of this Isle," as Chaucer calls them, ignored Henry and his son, and made their own choice to the vacant throne of North Wales. The scene of that Parliament of heroes of Wales is holy in more senses than one!

¹ Sometime chaplain to Henry III.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE MORTIMERS, WIGMORE CASTLE, HEREFORD

IT appears that at this appalling season in the history of Wales the masses of the people of other parts of Wales poured into Glamorgan and co. Monmouth for bread ; for since the peace introduced into those parts by the Normans taking the places of the native rulers of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire—Gwent and Morganwy then—the inhabitants there had enjoyed peace and plenty, if humiliated by being placed largely under strangers. But by Earl Robert Fitzroy coming, with his descendants after him, to rule, the natives had been greatly mollified, because he was the grandson of King Rhys ap Tudor.

Princess Gladys, full sister of the late King David (*d.* 1246), had married Sir Ralph de Mortimer, Wigmore Castle, Hereford, who had by her a son, Sir Roger de Mortimer. David, her brother, had been appointed King of North Wales by the assembly at Strata Florida in priority to Owen and Llewelyn. Had Sir Roger been appointed after King David's death, North Wales would have been in much the same condition as Glamorgan as to ruler. It was a time for conciliation, even at the expense of national dignity. But that compromise was scouted by the Welsh nobility at the Parliament at Strata Florida, for his father was Norman, as was Queen Joan, his grandmother, second Queen of King Llewelyn, son of rejected Prince Edward.

Princess Gladys was alive at this time, but died at Windsor Castle in 1252. Sir Ralph, her husband, had died just before her. Her sojourn at Windsor seems to indicate that Henry III. had a watchful eye upon her, in

case the North Wales Parliament *might* elect her to succeed David, her brother, and that, had they carried that into effect, she would have been instantly Henry III.'s State prisoner, for, since 1244, he had made up his mind that his elder son, Prince Edward, should succeed as Prince, or King, at least of North Wales, in the same sense that his nephew, King David, had been. Probably it was this knowledge that influenced the State Parliament at Strata Florida in 1246 to ignore the prospect of a compromise that now appeared feasible.

It is interesting to find in passing that King George V. has the blood of Princess Gladys the Brunette in his veins. Therefore, that the present (1911) King possesses a still higher title to the name than wearing the Three Plumes of the diadem of Wales.

Farmer-general Geoffrey de Langley seems to have been the principal factor in exasperating the Welsh natives between the Dee and the Conway. "The Welsh farmers, subject to his extortions," says an English writer—and his words should be remembered by English judges always—"appearing at Chester to receive evidence respecting the unjust treatment they experienced, had to have their evidence interpreted to the judges, and I am informed," the writer continues, "that the English and Welsh idioms do not correspond; that, for instance, a figurative or rhetorical expression in Welsh, on being interpreted into English, would sound like sheer nonsense to English judges, and convey to their minds that the witness was prevaricating, ill-informed, or stupid."

The reign of the brothers, Kings Owen and Llewelyn together lasted, we have seen, from 1246 to 1254, when Owen rose in rebellion against Llewelyn. Then Llewelyn's reign alone continued until December 10, 1282.

Thus King Llewelyn's reign lasted thirty-six years. He was nominally king of three parts of Wales, but actively king of North Wales only. The two brothers, on being created joint sovereigns in 1246, found it necessary to enter into a compromise with Henry III. The result was, Llewelyn

delivering up to, or for Prince Edward, his own private estates. Those were the following :—

The Hundred of Englfild (Rhuddlan and Castle). The Hundred of Duffryn Clwyd (Rhuthyn). The Hundred of Rhos (Conway). The Hundred of Rhivoniawg (Denbigh). The foregoing four hundreds contained the following commots :—Tegyngil, Cwmseled, Prestan, Colian, Llanerch, Ystrad, Uwch Alaeth, Is Alaeth, Uwch Dulas, Is Dulas, Y Creuddyn, and Rhuddlan. By this most, if not the whole, of the lands between Chester and the Conway, and far inland, were conceded to Henry III., for his son Prince Edward. Prince Edward was created Earl of Chester, and thereby became himself a Lord Marcher under his father, Henry III. Geoffrey de Langley was appointed by Henry III. to be farmer-general for his son over all of the above-named lands.

But the Welsh farmers soon experienced the intolerable tyranny of Langley and his understrappers. This oppression seems to have been due to the fact that Langley, having rented the profits of Henry III., was at liberty to make as much more as he could out of the Welsh farmers in those hundreds. Very soon the condition of the Welsh became as desperate, under the Norman Langley and his Norman stewards, as that of the Saxons in England under the same ruthless villains. Private conferences were held by the Welsh farmers, and eventually it was decided to send a deputation to King Llewelyn at Aberconway, about five miles south-west from Bangor, asking him to lead them to battle against their oppressors !

After mature consideration, Llewelyn decided to cast in his lot with them, and to lead them against the tyrants. When his decision became known, there was a general rising from Aberdaron to the sacred Dee River. Taking, it seems, a wide radius, west of Chester, with their backs towards Denbigh and Bala, the armed farmers, led by Llewelyn in person, were sweeping all foreigners before them towards Chester, to which they bolted to get within the walls before the Cambrian hurricane would sweep them into eternity ! As they ran before the wronged sons of the country, Prince

Edward stood on the Chester Walls and witnessed it all. It seems that the Welsh now engaged had sent to West Wales, inviting the inhabitants there also to rise in arms. They did, and the four Hundreds were recovered in one week. That was in 1255-6.

Matthew Paris, describing the condition of Wales immediately before this national upheaval, states: "Their proud and most ancient nobility withered away" ("Mearcut antiqua eorum superata nobilitas"). The same ancient writer contrasts the spirited attitude of the Welsh Britons with the slavish submission of the Saxons under Norman rule in England.

LLEWELYN ON THE WAR-PATH: HIS PRINCIPAL BATTLES

Having made the cause of the four Hundreds mentioned his own, and having thrown away the scabbard, Llewelyn was now fully committed to the responsibilities of his revolt against the Normans; and having sanctioned the rising in West Wales and the Powyses, he had asserted his rule in chief over also those parts of Wales. The general revolt commenced in 1256, and it continued, in divers phases, till the death of Llewelyn on December 10, 1282, near Builth, a period of twenty-six years. Of course, history has only chronicled the principal battles during that period. But Llewelyn's Court Bard, who calls himself his *Pencerdd*, or his Chief of Song, namely, Davith Benfras, has left us the following catalogue of them:—

Of Llewelyn he says: "*Pan el i ryfel nid ymgyddia.*" ("When he goes to war he hides not himself.")

1. Ael y Dyffryn.
2. Carreg Hwfa.
3. Trefdraeth (Newport, Pembroke).
4. Pembroke.
5. Glamorgan. "*Parhaus gilwg: er a wnel o ddrwg, ni ddiwedda.*" ("Glamorgan continuing scowling without cessation; past mischief done, it continues it.")
6. Swansea: great results.
7. Kedwely and ravaged Vale of Tawe seven times.

8. Llanelly : wrathful onslaught.
 9. Brecon : nine attacks.
 10. Builth : much burning.
 11. Elvel, Maelenydd : beautiful country.
 12. Gwerthrinion.
 13. Hodney (Brecon district).
 14. Arwystli (Welshpool).
 15. Powys.
 16. Maelor Saesnig (Dee).
 17. This was very destructive : forests fired. "Y ddwyfed ar Bymtheg : drwg yn amlwg, pan gerddodd ei fwg, gallt a fygai."
 18. Along the sea coast.
 19. Above the Conway, with increasing power.
 20. Forayed the Four Cantreys ; between Dee and Conway.
- "Ugeinfed, gan rad, hendref ei hendad.
Adenill Perfeddwlad, ac nis gwada!
Tros yr ugeinfed, O Alun dref red
Hyd waylod Dyfed (West Wales).
Pob darn o honi ceidw."¹

(In the twentieth he won, through mercy, his ancestral estates—namely, won back the Four Cantreys ! Then, after the twentieth victory, he raced and won from Peneley Tenby to the lower end of Pembroke : aye, every rood of it.)

Thus the Welsh nation had recovered possession of North Wales, West Wales, and the two Powyses. Either taken or destroyed were all the Norman castles within them, except one or two. Gruffyth and Madoc had been expelled from the two Powyses, because of their adherence to the strangers. Gruffyth, son of Madoc, of Dinas Bren or "Brân," on the heights north of Llangollen, where he dwelt, escaped himself, but lost all his property. The monkish writers make the almost incredible statement that Llewelyn was now at the head of 10,000 horsemen and vast numbers of infantry ; 30,000 archers and crossbowmen and spearmen.

Lord Gruffyth, of Upper Powys, now made his peace

¹ *Myvyrian Archaeology*, vol. i. p. 319.

with Llewelyn and actively joined him, and together they attacked Lower Powys. Llewelyn invited the Lord of Lower Powys to join him also, and he sent officers to him at Powys Castle, Welshpool, inviting him to join him. Gruffyth—another Gruffyth—received the envoys courteously, and lodged them for the night. But as soon as they had retired he ordered the garrison to detain them in the morning; then, mounting his horse, he rode himself in darkness to Shrewsbury. The following morning the envoys of Llewelyn found they were prisoners. Llewelyn was soon travelling like a thunder cloud full speed with troops for Powys Castle; he there liberated his envoys, and then reduced the castle to ashes (1273). Gruffyth escaped to England, and was there succoured by Earl Gilbert de Clare, of Glamorgan, builder of Caerphilly Castle, who acted now for King Edward, who was away in Palestine, but returned home in 1274, and was then crowned king; his father, Henry III., having died in 1272.

But we have gone too fast in our narrative. We hark back! Before this revolt, Henry III. had sent to Ireland for recruits, but when the Irishmen were sailing for North Wales, apparently towards Holyhead, Llewelyn's fleet met them, and the Patricks were glad to return home. Henry III. now gathered all the military forces of England, from Cornwall to the border of Scotland, and at the head of an enormous host he marched towards Chester, and then, passing on along Rhuddlan Plain,¹ he reached the Conway and a castle there called Dyganwy. Llewelyn and his army, together with all the inhabitants of North Wales, with all moveable possessions, retired to the mountains and valleys of Gwynedd, north of the Conway. All bridges over the river Conway were cut; the roads in the country were blocked up with felled timber, and the land was ploughed up in all directions. A large army needs a large supply of food, and it seems that Llewelyn's fleet, which had intercepted the Irishmen, now acted to prevent supplies from passing up the mouth of the Conway to the English.

¹ At the bottom of which Queen Boadicea had, in A.D. 60, met the Romans.

It appears that Prince Edward, with the inexperience of youth, on his march from England, had fired all the supplies he found on the borders between England and Wales. He now realised his error, for he soon discovered that it was the English army that most needed what he had destroyed. The Welsh, from their forests and impregnable heights, made at night furious sorties across the Conway; and from Gwydir Castle, Llanrwst, through Bettws y Coed, their roars at night echoed like the roars of lions at bay! Eventually, Henry III. discovered that the best thing for him to do was to sound the retreat on his trumpets. The retreat proceeded back towards Chester, with the Welshmen harassing the rear of his army every step. He, however, passed the border into England, still pursued by Llewelyn, who followed till far over the border. Llewelyn now attacked the Earl of Chester, and took one of his castles. Henry III. was now stricken with fever and was long ill. Probably his illness was the result of the terrible disappointment and anxiety he had recently experienced. The whole of West Wales, now united with North Wales, joined in swearing allegiance to Llewelyn, and, for the first time in that generation, those two parts and Powyses joined in one federation for mutual defence and attack.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE MARCHES OF WALES RAIDED BY PRINCE LLEWELYN THE LAST. THE *CARTE BLANCHES* OF THE MARQUESSES OF WALES.

AT the suggestion of Lord Gruffyth ap Madoc, Llewelyn the Last attacked the Lords of the Marches of Wales, most of whom were along the frontiers of Wales; others, as in the lordship of Brecknock, had crept far inland in Wales. There were innumerable instances of these kinds of efforts made to grasp the inland landed estates of the natives. One in particular is mentioned. Llewelyn had placed troops in a position relating to that locality, so as to be able to cut off the retreat of the foreigners in the direction of a certain castle belonging to those he was about to assail, in case of their defeat by his men, and endeavouring to retreat into its wards. His warriors did defeat the foe, and, as he had anticipated, they retreated in the direction of that castle. His detachment met them in their flight, and they, being followed by Llewelyn's main force, the runaways, states Matthew of Paris, found themselves as it were "between two millstones," and they were crushed to pieces, very few escaping. Among those who fell were several Norman leaders. It is conjectured that the castle belonged to the Earl Gilbert de Clare, Lord Paramount of Glamorgan, who erected Caerphilly Castle between A.D. 1265 and June 1, 1270.

To us at the present day the plea of those titled ruffians that the estates they had "won" from the Welsh natives were theirs "by conquest," and that those Welsh who sought to recover them were guilty of something like brigandage, is ludicrous to the last degree. Each of those Norman lords seeking estates in Wales carried *Carte*

Blanche (a white card), signed by the king, Henry III. of England, which the possessor had to fill in himself, *after* he had ascertained *how much* he had "won" (stolen) from the Welsh. Many of the foreigners, after they had each filled in the *Carte Blanche*, discovered they had written too soon; that the natives had recovered possession of their own. This conduct of the Welsh landlords the Normans deemed downright robbery. Shakespeare must have contemplated these things on the borders of Wales when he made Gower, in *Henry IV.*, say, "a Welsh correction taught the Normans a good English condition." It is stated by Thierry, in his *Norman Conquest of England*, that most, if not all, of the Norman "knights" brought over from Normandy by William the Conqueror, in 1066, were in their own country simple, uneducated tradesmen, while William himself was the grandson, on his mother's side, of a tanner (book iii., edition of A.D. 1831). And it is further stated that the Conqueror did his best to promote the interests of the class to which his own mother belonged. As soon as his followers had gained a foothold in England, he, who in Normandy might have been a carter, became in Britain a lordly knight. His class knew no other law than that of force, and they found the docile Saxons submissively bending the necks to the carter's yoke and whip, and used them to invade Wales. But in all Wales they found a sturdier race of people; a race whose quivers were Norman and Saxon sepulchres! But the breed of carters and tanners deemed the Kimmerians very impudent people indeed!

As illustrating the state of affairs on the frontiers, and in parts of inland Wales, the following may be mentioned. Prince Llewelyn had sent envoys to Henry III. at Oxford, desiring peace. The Barons of England came to the "Mad Parliament," about to be holden there (June 11, 1258). But they all came in armour, "to be ready," they said, "to invade Wales." The said envoys from Prince Llewelyn submitted to the king certain propositions, on behalf of Llewelyn, touching his own recent hostilities. Prince Edward would not even listen to these propositions. But his royal father sent a knight, named Baron Patrick de

Canton, to Newcastle Emlyn, to take evidence touching certain wrongs alleged by Llewelyn Wales had endured, resulting in the said hostilities on his part in the four cantrevs of North Wales and also in West Wales. Llewelyn was invited to the meeting in person. He warily sent to meet the commissioner his brother, Prince David, who had been recently set at liberty from Llanberis Castle by him. Accompanying Prince David were Meredith, son of Madoc, Powys, and Rhys, Vychan, both prominent chiefs. They honestly went unarmed to the conference, as ambassadors of peace.

When the said Patrick de Canton and his officers heard that Prince David and those with him were few and unarmed, and approaching, they were treacherously set upon while on the highway from Cardigan, and some of the Welsh were slain. But Prince David and the others, who had fortunately escaped the snare, soon roused the country, and with hue and cry went after the assassins, and overtaking the scoundrels slew many of them, and among those who perished were Baron Patrick de Canton, Walter Melfeiant, and Hugh de Vynes. A Welshman named Meredith ap Rhys, father of Rhys hanged by Edward I. at York in A.D. 1293, was among the treacherous fraternity, but he escaped into Cilgeran Castle, county Cardigan. He was, however, captured, and was taken to Powys, and at a Welsh council at Arwystli was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But a few months later, on his delivering his son as hostage for his good behaviour, and also Dinevor Castle to Llewelyn, together with the castle of Newcastle Emlyn and all his landed estates, he was set at liberty. This Meredith ap Rhys was the son of Rhys Gryg ("the Hoarse"), the youngest son of the late Lord Rhys, Dinevor Castle, who was the son, it will be remembered, of Prince Gruffyth, son of King Rhys ap Tewdwr and Princess Gwenllïan, one of the daughters of King Gruffyth ap Cynan, North Wales. Rhys Gryg died in A.D. 1233, leaving this Meredith his heir. The last-named's mother was a daughter of Earl Gilbert de Clare, Glamorgan, &c., whom he married in A.D. 1219. It is known that when his father, Rhys Gryg, died, Meredith was

very young, and it appears probable his mother brought him up among her Norman relatives, and that, when he grew up, he was Norman in speech and in sympathies.

It will be borne in mind that this Meredith's son, Rhys, did all in his power against Prince Llewelyn and Wales in the final struggle against Edward I. As we point out in a preceding page, it was Edward's policy to destroy this traitor Rhys, after the death of Prince Llewelyn, in A.D. 1282.

OTHER EXCITING SCENES

As already stated, the Barons of England went to a Parliament at Oxford, all in armour, for the purpose, they said, that no time might be lost before invading Wales. That assembly has been dubbed by history the "Mad Parliament." Llewelyn, we have seen, sent to it, which meant to Henry III., peace proposals. His envoys were the Bishop of Bangor and the Abbot of Aberconway. Before this visit of the Welsh envoys to the Mad Parliament Llewelyn had given great provocation. Llewelyn's cousin, Sir Roger de Mortimer, Wigmore Castle, had gone to Parliament in London. A retainer came swiftly after him with the tidings that Llewelyn and his army had arrived at Wigmore Castle in his absence, and that after only two days the garrison had delivered the castle to Llewelyn. The old Chronicle adds: "This was done by the garrison because of their dislike of Sir Roger, their master." It was whispered about that Llewelyn had distributed among the garrison a large sum of money—July 17, 18, 1260.

Llewelyn then proceeded to Builth Castle, likewise belonging to Sir Roger de Mortimer, and the garrison there, having heard what had taken place at Wigmore Castle, did likewise. It appears that these bloodless victories roused suspicion about Sir Roger himself, because he and Llewelyn were cousins. But Sir Roger soon cleared himself. Llewelyn now returned home to Aberconway. It appears it was now Llewelyn summoned to his presence the said bishop and abbot, and drew up his proposals to Henry III. at Oxford. And notwithstanding Prince Edward's im-

patience, peace between England and Wales was the result—to last two years—from August 22, 1260, to June 24, 1262. It was agreed that traders of both countries were at liberty to pass to and fro to England and Wales.

It is highly significant that in this truce signed by Henry III. and Prince Edward, the latter's name is omitted from the copy sent back to Llewelyn, but is retained in the other for King Henry himself, which would come under the eyes of his Majesty. The omission appears intended to convey to Llewelyn that Prince Edward did not agree to the truce, but to satisfy King Henry the name was inserted in his copy. This proves it was Prince Edward who drew up the copies by his father's imperious orders, but without signing the copy sent to Llewelyn. No doubt, encouraged by Prince Edward, some lords slew Welshmen at Llanhudan, 1261.

Sir John L'Estrange had raided the lands of Lord Gruffyth at Bromfield, near Ludlow, Salop. Gruffyth was nearly related to both Llewelyn and Meredith, son of Rhys Gryg, Dinevor Castle. Henry III., in reference to the raiding in question, promised to institute inquiries, and the result was to be reported to him on June 24, 1262, at the Ford of Montgomery. Here is an illustration as to how the Lords Marchers acted in defiance of treaties made by the king. This Ford of Montgomery was the old trysting-place, near Glyn Ceiriog, of the two nations, and is very often met with in ancient records relating to Wales. It seems to be on the river Tawch, seven or eight miles to the south-east from Bala, below the highway from Shrewsbury to Bala. It is the spot called in Welsh "Bwlch-y-Pawl," which King Rhodyri the Great appointed as the meeting-place for his three sons to rendezvous annually. The Pawl means "Pole" (a flagstaff).

RUMOURED DEATH OF LLEWELYN

Lord Chief Justice Philip Basset, a native of Beaupre, Cowbridge, Glamorgan, who, during the absence of the

king on the Continent, had charge of England with the archbishop, wrote to Henry III. that “it was rumoured that Llewelyn of Wales was dead.” So great was the authority invested in Basset that, Fabian states, on Prince Edward himself approaching London at the head of armed men during his father’s absence, Basset closed the gates of London, and refused him admittance in that fashion. Henry, on receipt of the news touching Llewelyn, instantly replied to Basset, instructing him what to do. The old fox wrote also to Sir Roger de Mortimer, stating that Llewelyn had had no right to the crown of North Wales. This was one of those hints that Prince Gruffyth, father of Owen, Llewelyn, David, and Roderick, was an illegitimate son of King Llewelyn the Great (*d.* 1240).

This was a wicked hint to Sir Roger de Mortimer that *he* was really the heir to the throne of North Wales, through his grandmother, Princess Gladys, who had married Sir Ralph de Mortimer, Wigmore Castle. It was an attempt to cast a firebrand into the midst of the combustible royal scions of the royal families of Wales touching the throne of North Wales, West Wales, and Powys. It sought, too, to blight Prince David’s prospects to the succession. The king further stated that Prince Owen, the former joint-sovereign with Llewelyn, was still alive, but Llewelyn’s captive since A.D. 1256. It will be borne in mind that it was later than this time the said Prince Owen was set free from Llanbadarn Castle, Llanberis (1277). But after all these schemings Llewelyn was found very much alive indeed.

Llewelyn next attacked Cevnlllys Castle, Powys, and took it, together with another castle, by the assistance of the men of Maelienyth, Welshpool. It was here (Tre’r Lleng, legion in Welsh) the Welshmen had annihilated a Roman legion, and avenged by Agricola. It was whispered, with bated breath, among neighbouring garrisons, that Llewelyn had brought with him some extraordinary new war machines which could, and would, blow everything into the air—another of those infernal “Arts Magic,” which the fellow-countrymen of the Wizard Merlin were universally believed

to be gifted with. This rumour added terror to the forces of Llewelyn in the eyes of every Norman garrison, and one castle after another yielded to Llewelyn from sheer fright. Cevnlllys garrison was one of the terrified ones, and the castle was wrecked by Llewelyn. Later, Sir Roger de Mortimer and Sir Humphrey de Bohun, with their soldiers, were surprised among Cevnlllys ruins by Llewelyn, and Sir Roger sent to his uncle, Llewelyn, a flag of truce. Llewelyn had with him thirty thousand foot and three hundred cavalry, and the ruins were surrounded.

So struck was Llewelyn by a letter reaching him from Sir Roger with the flag of truce that he allowed the two knights and their soldiers to depart without a single blow being struck. It will be seen later how Sir Roger requited the kindness of Llewelyn!

Llewelyn next marched to Brecon, and after putting down there all opposition, he returned to Aberconway. The Norman Bishop of Hereford wrote to Henry III. that so terrified were the people of his diocese that they were everywhere thronging the churches for safety. They thought Merlin's dragons were come again! Prince Edward had come into the marches of Wales to attack Llewelyn, but he was recalled, owing to the rebellion of the Barons of England, A.D. 1264. Previous to this, Baron Simon de Montfort, leader of the revolted barons, had been sent as commander-in-chief of the forces against Llewelyn; but by his suggestion a peace was now made between Henry and Llewelyn. It seems highly probable that Lord Simon de Montfort and King Llewelyn had met privately, and arranged to act together in the coming rebellion of the barons. King Llewelyn afterwards married Lady Eleanor, daughter of Baron Simon de Montfort on October 13, 1278, at Worcester Cathedral, in the presence of Edward I. and Queen Eleanor.

SUMMARY

The following summary will place in a clear light matters dealt with in the text.

King Llewelyn the Great, who died in 1240, married twice. His first wife was Princess Tanwystl. By her he had Prince Gruffyth. His second wife was Princess Joan, daughter of King John of England, therefore, sister to King Henry III.

Prince Gruffyth married Princess Sina. By the last named, he had issue, Owen, Llewelyn the Last, David, Roderick. By Queen Joan, he had David and Gladys. Gladys married first Reignald de Breos, and secondly, Ralph de Mortimer, Wigmore Castle, Hereford. The last named and Gladys had Roger: and he Edmund, both of whom were present at the death of Llewelyn the Last, near Builth, on December 10, 1282. Gruffyth had been treacherously captured, and imprisoned by King David, son of Joan, in Criccieth Castle. He and his wife Sina, and Owen, were transferred by the King Henry III. to the Tower, London. In 1244, it was reported he had attempted to escape, and had broken his neck. The widow and Owen were taken to the Court of Henry III. In 1246, the said King David himself died, and the estates of Wales assembled at Strata Florida, and elected as joint-sovereigns Owen and Llewelyn of Mæsmynan, near Cae'r Wys, Flintshire. Owen, evidently, being the eldest son of the late Prince Gruffyth, was not pleased with the joint-sovereignty, and after nine years of it, he took the field against his brother Llewelyn.

Owen was defeated and taken prisoner, and was placed in Llanberis Castle, where he was in captivity twenty-three years, when he was set at liberty by Llewelyn at the instigation of Henry III. and Prince Edward, solely that they might use him as a tool to the injury of Llewelyn, as the sequel will show.

It is obvious that the aim of Llewelyn the Great, in passing over Prince Gruffyth and appointing David, the son of Queen Joan, to succeed him, was his belief, fondly cherished by him, that David, being the grandson of King John and nephew to Henry III., the alliance might conduce to the welfare of Wales. But it is clear that the choice was bitterly resented by a very strong party in Wales. And the moment David died, the estates of Wales, as already intimated, appointed to succeed him the aforesaid two sons of Prince Gruffyth, who was believed, even by King Llewelyn, to have been butchered at the Tower. King Llewelyn the Last had a son

named Madoc, who was of the bar sinister, but of a noble mien; and Gwen by his wife.

The son and grandson of Princess Gladys Mortimer viewed Llewelyn with envy and malice, as events proved on December 10, 1282. We now trace the line of Mortimer. The last named Roger Mortimer, was the father of Sir Roger Mortimer, Wigmore Castle, the notorious paramour of Queen Isabella, the wife of Edward II. He had his wife, Lady Mortimer, four sons, and seven daughters, at Wigmore Castle.

On November 20, 1330, he was executed at Tyburn, site of the Marble Arch, Hyde Park, London. The year following, his funeral took place at Austin Abbey, Wigmore, which is now roofless and in ruins, and used as a lumber yard by the farmer! In 1356 the attainder was removed, and in 1356 the title (Earl of March) and his estates were restored to Roger, his son. Roger, the last-named son, was born on February 1, 1351, at Llangynwyd Castle, Bridgend, Glamorgan. His son, also named Roger, was born at Usk Castle, Monmouth, in 1371. King Richard II., son of the Black Prince of Wales, not having issue, Parliament made this Roger his heir-presumptive to the throne, in succession to Richard II. But Roger was murdered in Ireland. Richard II., returning from Ireland, where he had been to avenge the murder, was met at Flint Castle by Harry Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV., who deposed him. Owen Glyndwr, who had accompanied Richard II. to Ireland, witnessed the callous scene at Flint Castle, and he soon had all Wales in insurrection against the usurper.

Murdered Roger left two sons and a daughter, namely, Edmund, Roger, and Anne. The two young princelings were made state prisoners at Windsor Castle by Henry IV. They were liberated after the death of Henry IV. by his son, Henry V. They both died unmarried, but Lady Anne Mortimer married Richard, Duke of Cambridge. They had a son named Richard, Duke of York. He took the field against Henry VI. Thus began the terrible Wars of the Roses. This Duke of York was slain in the battle of Wakefield, on December 31, 1460.

Henry VI. was a weakling, but his wife, known as Margaret of Anjou, was a veritable Amazon. They had a son, Edward Prince of Wales, who was foully murdered at the battle of Tewkesbury. The room where the crime was committed is now a baker's shop, and the author was shown in the oaken floor the marks of the streams of blood which, according to tradition, flowed from his rent

body! The late Duke of York had a heroic son, named Edward, Earl of March. He ascended the throne under the name Edward IV. His brother, Richard III. (Duke of Gloucester) succeeded him; he murdered the two sons of his brother Edward IV. in the Tower. It is stated that murder gave occasion for the pathetic little drama known as "The Babes in the Wood." Richard III. was defeated by the Duke of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., at Bosworth Field on August 22, 1485, when Richard III. was slain, it is said by the battle-axe of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, Dinevor Castle, co. Caermarthen. At Shrewsbury is shown the royal arms of England, recently discovered under a coat of plastering, in front of the wall of the bedroom occupied by the Duke of Richmond the night before the battle. Henry VII. married Princess Elizabeth, only daughter of Edward IV., January 18, 1486. Thus ended the Wars of the Roses, and the Tudor dynasty of Wales ascended the throne of Britain; and the colours Green and White, of which the Leek is an emblem, became the royal colours of the Tudor royal Court. (Colours of the Landscape and Light.)

THE BARONS' WAR, COMMENCED MAY 13, 1264

On the 13th May 1264, the battle of Lewes, Sussex, was fought by the barons, under Earl Simon de Montfort, against Henry III., and both the king and Prince Edward were taken prisoners. Earl Simon afterwards carried the captive king with him from place to place, and compelled him to sign assent to what measures he himself pleased. Prince Edward was placed at Hereford under guards. One day, in the midst of those guards—apparently the guards were of the aristocratic order—he offered prizes for horse-racing. This was for the purpose of blowing their horses. Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, and of Caerphilly Castle, &c., had had a furious quarrel at Gloucester with his ally, Lord Simon, in the presence of the captive king, who strove to pacify both. This was while the king was in the custody of Earl Simon and the barons, ever since the battle of Lewes (48 Henry III.). From that moment the Earl Gilbert de Clare of Gloucester, and Lord Paramount of Glamorgan, went secretly over to the captive king's party. He had become jealous of Lord Simon's

prospects. By some means he communicated to Prince Edward at Hereford his plan for his escape. The plan was, the horse-race to exhaust the horses of his guards; the other was that he would place a horse noted for its extraordinary fleetness in a certain convenient spot mentioned. After the guards had unsuspectingly tired out their chargers, Prince Edward struck spurs into the ordinary horse he was then himself riding. Hardly had his guards realised what was happening than "Long-shanks," as the Prince was called on account of his agility, had leaped to the back of the swift one belonging to the Earl of Gloucester; and he was soon out of sight, going at a break-neck pace through Mortimer's Cross, in the direction of Ludlow from Hereford. Some few miles beyond the said Mortimer's Cross, the galloping steed and rider turned up on the left, and quarter of a mile up galloped over the drawbridge into the safety of Wigmore Castle, Sir Roger de Mortimer's property.

Miss Strickland says it was Lady Maud Mortimer who sent the swift horse for the use of Prince Edward, and she quotes the following ancient lines :—

"Why should halt a long tale? He oft escaped so;
To the castle of Wigmore the way he soon took.
There was joy and bliss enow when he came hither,
To the lady of the castle, Maud Mortimer."

But it was Sir Gilbert who supplied the horse; therefore, Maud and Mortimer her husband acted by his directions.

Soon after this event, the heroic Prince Edward went forth to face the barons. On August 4, 1265, the battle of Evesham, near Kenilworth Castle, was won by Prince Edward, and Earl Simon de Montfort was slain, and Henry III. was released. It was a proud moment for Henry III., for his own son had recovered for him both his crown and his liberty.

King Llewelyn had most actively assisted Simon de Montfort and the rebellious barons, and had thereby further embittered the feelings of Prince Edward against

him personally. But in the later days of Henry III. that King and Llewelyn had met face to face in Montgomery Castle, and a treaty was signed by both, securing to Llewelyn the independence of Wales, and the title Prince of Wales to Llewelyn and his heirs. It appears that Prince Edward was furiously opposed to this, and we find him and Princess Eleanor his wife departing from Britain for Palestine. He never again saw his father, Henry III., who expired at St. Edmondsbury on November 16, 1272, in the sixty-fourth year of his age and fifty-sixth of his reign. Prince Edward (Edward I.) was now in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

Lady Eleanor de Montfort, who was a cousin to Edward I., was taken to her mother in a convent at Montargis, France, where also went her brother, who was a clergyman and named Amaury. It appears the orphan Princess was at this time very young, but Llewelyn was deeply in love with her; perhaps he also saw that in her were possibilities that the party of her late father when at the head of the late rebellious barons, might regard her on the throne of North Wales with himself a powerful factor in the interest of Wales. On the other hand, Edward I. saw in her an instrument calculated to make Llewelyn submissive to himself, even against his own interest. He soon after 1272, had spies on the movements of Lady Eleanor at Montargis, and he seems to have endeavoured to make her brother a spy over her.

In 1276, Edward I. endeavoured to induce her reverend brother to deliver her to his care, but he had honourably refused. That is the only way we can account for Edward's vindictive attitude afterwards towards the brother, whom he captured and imprisoned successively in Corfe and Sherburn Castles, until after the death of Llewelyn, December 10, 1282. He was, however, eventually released at the request of the Pope, on the ground that, being an ecclesiastic, he was entitled to benefit of clergy.

The ship conveying Lady Eleanor de Montfort, her brother, and her maids, was waylaid near the Scilly Islands by four warships sent from Bristol for the purpose by

Edward I. This fact proves that even in France Edward I.'s English spies were watching the noble young lady's movements. The Rev. Lord Amaury and Lady Eleanor never saw each other again. She was taken from Bristol to Queen Eleanor and her many daughters at Windsor Castle. Walsingham gives a slightly different version; he states the ship in which she and her brother came was found by the four ships windbound at the mouth of the Avon, flowing through Bristol into the sea.

Edward I. had married Princess Eleanor of Castile in 1254, when he was aged fifteen, and afterwards had by her four sons and eight daughters. Thus we see that Lady Eleanor de Montfort had plenty of interesting society at Windsor Castle, and those, too, her own near relatives.

Llewelyn had further offended King Edward I. in 1274 by refusing to appear at Westminster on August 19th in that year to do him homage at his coronation. The reason which Llewelyn gave for his refusal was, that he "recollected his father Gruffyth's fate" at the Tower of London in 1244. Here is an intimation that Llewelyn believed his father had been murdered by being thrown out through the high window into the yard below, and that the story about the rope made with his bed linen was a fabrication.

One is on safe ground in supposing that young Lady Eleanor, during her detention at Windsor Castle, was encouraged to correspond with her intended husband, then at Aberconway, for that would only further King Edward's purpose to bring Llewelyn into his net. The letters were doubtless in Norman-French, or perhaps in Latin. There is evidence in Llewelyn's Despatches, preserved in Lambeth Library, that Llewelyn was a master of the Latin language, as were all others trained by Roman Catholic priests and monks in those days. There are still extant three of Lady Eleanor's letters to King Edward after her marriage with Prince Llewelyn at Worcester Cathedral.

The first letter is dated October 10, 1279; the second

is dated July 8, 1280; and the third October 18, 1280. In the first she alludes to her mother's Will, by which we learn her mother was now dead. The king, continuing his annoyances, had objected to one Nicholas de Whatham acting as her agent in relation to the property which her mother had bequeathed to her. In the second she wrote playfully to Edward, and begged he would not credit stories to the effect that either Llewelyn or herself entertained feelings antagonistic to his Majesty; and, as if to emphasise this, she expressed a wish to hear from himself. In the third she pleaded on behalf of her brother. It will be seen that her only brother—both fatherless and motherless—was in captivity when his sister's wedding took place at Worcester Cathedral with Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, in the presence of Edward I. and Queen Eleanor and the Court of England; and also at the time of the death of their mother, Lady Simon de Montfort, Countess of Leicester, at the nunnery of Montargis, France.

In another of her letters the now Princess of Wales and Lady of Snowdon alludes to his Majesty's kindness at Worcester to herself and Llewelyn. It is evident that Llewelyn had chivalrously concealed from his beautiful young princess the huckstering attitude of Edward towards himself when, on the way to the cathedral, he imposed on him a fresh covenant at a moment when Llewelyn had no power of resistance. Edward's attitude then proves that a mighty monarch can be one of the meanest of men. It was all due to his insatiable ambition to absorb Wales. What the Lords Marchers were endeavouring to accomplish by piecemeal, Edward I. was stretching out his arms forward over all their heads to grasp all in his own embrace, and presently he did so, and the Lordships Marches included!

LLEWELYN OLA' AT CAERPHILLY CASTLE, GLAMORGAN

The following circumstances, though preceding the events already narrated, must not be omitted.

As might be expected, the part played by Gilbert de Clare in the ruin of Simon de Montfort, the prospective father-in-law of Llewelyn, kindled the keenest resentment against him in the heart of Llewelyn. On October 13, 1270, Llewelyn appeared before Caerphilly Castle, recently completed by Gilbert de Clare; and he took it by storm, and then burnt it. Gilbert then proceeded to restore it, but on June 1, 1272, Llewelyn came again and besieged it.

Henry III. now interfered, and induced Llewelyn to allow him to take the dispute between him and Gilbert de Clare into his own consideration, and to permit him to place in the castle three bishops as neutrals, to hold it neutral until the dispute had been settled at Montgomery Ford, near Corwen. Gilbert was in a great funk, and dared not face Llewelyn in open warfare, and he wrote to a fellow-Lord Marcher—the letter is still extant—soliciting him to take the castle into his own hands, if Llewelyn consented, until the dispute had been settled. Llewelyn agreed to Henry III.'s suggestion, but very reluctantly, for he had no confidence in the king's *bona fides*. Three bishops came to Caerphilly, and Llewelyn and his vast army took their departure, when Caerphilly Castle was at his mercy. The promise of the king turned out to be a mere trick, and the meeting at Montgomery Ford never took place, and the castle was restored to Earl Gilbert intact.

Henry was under very deep obligation to Earl Gilbert for contriving the escape of Prince Edward from his custodians at Hereford, for it resulted in the death of Simon de Montfort and the collapse of the Barons' War at Evesham. No doubt, Henry acted now by the suggestion of Earl Gilbert. The Norman garrison were to depart from Caerphilly the same time as Llewelyn raised the siege. This was done, and the Bishops of Worcester, Coventry, and Lichfield took peaceful possession of Caerphilly Castle. The conditions were attested by Prince David, Llewelyn's brother, Prince Gruffyth, Gwenwyn Powys, and the said three bishops. The commission at Montgomery Ford was to open on July 8, 1272, but the king it seems became

ill and matters were postponed ; but, as already stated, on November 16, 1272, Henry III. died, and Earl Gilbert became *de facto* regent of the kingdom, pending Prince Edward's return home from Palestine. Llewelyn found matters now more threatening than ever.

CHAPTER XLIX

EDWARD I. AND LLEWELYN THE LAST—FINAL RUPTURE AND WAR

It is evident that the final rupture between Edward I. and Llewelyn the Last was largely due to personal dislike ; and that Edward I. was jealous of Llewelyn's renown as a warrior. He was also greedily gazing at, not only the four Cantrevs or Hundreds, but all Wales. As already stated, Llewelyn was summoned to render the king homage for his portion of Wales ; but Llewelyn refused to go at all, except on the following conditions :—Edward sending as hostages to Wales Prince Edmund, Edward's brother ; Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester ; and Sir Philip Basset, Lord Chief Justice of England.

The Pope appears to have agreed that Llewelyn's conditions were reasonable, for his Holiness ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury to refrain from censuring Llewelyn on account of his demand for guarantees that he would be treated fairly in London. Besides the treaty made at Montgomery Castle between Henry III. and Llewelyn was in full force, securing the independent sovereignty of Wales, and bestowing on Llewelyn and his successors the title of Prince, that is to say, King of Wales. But the demand of Llewelyn for hostages was arrogantly refused by King Edward. It is evident that the treaty of Montgomery Castle had been the cause of a quarrel between Henry and his son, and that he had left for Palestine in a huff ; perhaps his father had encouraged him to depart, because he was fast becoming too violent for his father's control and peace of mind. The King of Scotland went meekly to London and rendered homage to King Edward : as also did the Duke of Brittany.

Edward next summoned Llewelyn to do homage at Shrewsbury. Llewelyn again refused, and in a despatch he states that, "were he himself to yield on certain points, his people would never consent to that." Here is a hint as to the force of public opinion in Wales, which even a native king of the utmost popularity could not set aside. Such a public opinion in England would have been viewed with scorn by King Edward I.; it became long afterwards necessary there to behead a king to have public opinion recognised in England.

The condition of the masses in England then was not much better than that of kennel hounds going hunting in the paths of war. The villeins of England, both Saxons and Normans, were then regarded by their lords as mere beasts of burden, crushed down by the feudal laws. The degradation under which the masses in England groaned, and the immorality of the feudal lords of England and the Marches are proved by one instance, namely, the law called *Mercata Mulierum*, or "Maiden Fee," which dealing with maidens is too shameful to be inserted in a popular history. Again, from every belfry in the steeples of the churches in England and the Marches of Wales, rang out the order called *Couvre-Feu*, or *Curfew*, or "Cover the Fire"; meaning, put out all your lights and go to bed like dutiful children—

"The curfew tolled the knell of parting day."

The Welsh would have smashed the bells, every one!

Llewelyn was summoned a third time, now to Westminster. He again refused, except on the terms he had sent to Edward at Chester, to which place Edward had now repaired at the time the second summons was sent to him. At the time of the third summons, both his brothers, David and Roderick, had deserted him, and were now, with others disloyal to Llewelyn and Wales, being entertained by Edward in London.

David was given a handsome widow, daughter of the Earl of Derby, and besides was made Baron Frodsham, co. Cheshire, and was given the castle there, and also that

of Denbigh—together a landed estate to the value of one thousand marks a year; and in addition was made the Constable of all the castles of Wales. All this time Owen, afterwards called Lawgoch¹ formerly joint-king with Llewelyn, was in Llewelyn's captivity at the Dolbadarn Castle, among the rugged scenery of Llanberis. Three further summonses to Llewelyn were sent by Edward, but with the like result.

Llewelyn now sent to a great gathering of the Welsh clergy, assembled at Strata Florida, a statement detailing his reasons for declining to accede to Edward's summonses to do him homage. This was the condition of affairs when Lady Eleanor and Rev. Lord Amaury were taken captives by Edward I. But Edward discovered that, so far, Llewelyn would not allow his own personal feelings for Eleanor to hinder him from acting his part in what he deemed the dignity and rights of Wales demanded. It now became palpable that Edward I. was preparing measures towards invading Wales. Llewelyn was already on the war-path, and was actively occupied in ravaging the estates of the Norman intruders along the borders of Wales.

By the urgent desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, Edward sent to Llewelyn another summons, the seventh, to submit to him. The Archdeacon of Canterbury was sent to him with this mandate. But Llewelyn, further enraged by the detention of Lady Eleanor, continued his terrible forays. The Archdeacon was to report, on a certain day in October 1276, to the Parliament at Westminster Llewelyn's answer. Llewelyn now wrote to Edward that he would attend to do him homage at either the Ford of Montgomery or at Oswestry. But he attached to his promise the conditions, that before he would attend he must have a safe conduct signed by King Edward, by the Archbishop, and by the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Lord Winton, and five other English lords. Further that Edward was to agree to confirm the articles of peace, recognising the independence of Wales, and himself Prince of Wales, entered into between himself and the king's late

¹ Bloody Hand.

father, at the Castle of Montgomery in 1267. And also the liberation of the Lady Eleanor.

EDWARD I. INVADING NORTH WALES, A.D. 1277

Every reasonable man looking at the matter without prejudice for one side more than another must agree that the terms demanded by Llewelyn were fair and worthy of Wales. But they conveyed the damaging innuendo that King Edward was a rogue and not to be trusted!

Those conditions roused the fierce indignation of the Norman barons in Parliament, and they voted supplies to the king to defray the cost of invading North Wales. Doubtless many of those barons had recently suffered terribly by Llewelyn's forays along the Marches, and were glad to rouse King Edward to go against Llewelyn with them. Not only did the king and barons tax England to provide supplies to the extent of a fifteenth of the annual values, but holy Canterbury agreed to give for the same purpose certain percentage on ecclesiastical endowments. Then, strange to say, Llewelyn was to be called into account for his actions during the late Henry III.'s reign; in recovering from the Crown the four Cantreys, called *Perveddwlad*, or the "Bowels," of North Wales. Thus the Montgomery Castle treaty of 1267 was to be now repudiated and ignored; a sure indication that Edward had violently disagreed with his late father when the late king had made peace with Llewelyn at Montgomery Castle, in the presence of the Pope's representative, in 1267. The barons stigmatised Llewelyn a "traitor."

It was resolved by Parliament to call upon the military forces of England to meet at Worcester on a certain day; the Marches to be in the meantime guarded by the forces of the Crown of England, and all England, Ireland, and Guienne were prohibited from selling supplies to Wales and its adherents. And, soon after, the Church of Rome excommunicated Llewelyn, and placed all Wales under a curse.

Meanwhile, Llewelyn had offered Edward a large sum

of money as a ransom for Lady Eleanor. Perhaps that was regarded as a gross insult : perhaps it was so intended, for it implied that Edward was not above selling his own relations for cash down ; it conveyed, too, Edward was a brigand. Edward sent to the Marches of Wales three hundred horsemen to guard them against the Welshmen ; and he appointed Llewelyn's cousin, Sir Roger de Mortimer, son of Princess Gladys the Brunette, half sister to Prince Gruffyth, Llewelyn's father, commander of the Norman forces in the counties of Shropshire, Hereford, and the adjacent counties. This was a cunning appointment, for the throne of North Wales was by it dangled before the eyes of Sir Roger, who was Sir Edmund's father. The Earl of Warwick was made commander in Cheshire, and Sir Payne de Chaworth in West Wales.

Now came to pass an event which eventually contributed very largely to the ruin of Wales. Young Sir Rhys ap Meredith joined Sir Payne de Chaworth in West Wales, and the result was that Llewelyn was deprived in North Wales of the co-operation of all West Wales. Sir Rhys was the son of Meredith, son of Rhys Gryg or Vychan by a sister of Earl Gilbert de Clare, Lord of Glamorgan and Earl of Gloucester, and Rhys appears to have been brought up as a Norman, doubtless through the early death of Meredith his father, nephew to Earl Gilbert. The effect of Rhys's desertion of Llewelyn was, that many of the other Welsh chiefs in West Wales followed his example. But we see that a few remained faithful, but too few to be of much force (1277). The fortress of Caermarthen, otherwise Ystrad Tawe, was delivered up to Payne de Chaworth, and the castle of Aberystwyth was strengthened for the King of England.

Edward now ordered the fleet from the Five Seaports, the Cinque Ports, to watch around the Welsh coast and intercept supplies and prevent the Isle of Anglesey from rendering any assistance to Llewelyn. Large reinforcements were sent over the Bristol Channel to Payne de Chaworth in West Wales, to overawe the population. At midsummer of 1277 King Edward himself entered Chester

at the head of his army and encamped at Saltney Marsh, near the city. He next proceeded along the sea coast, and strengthened Flint and Rhuddlan Castles, &c. Those were so ordered that, in case of defeat, his army could retreat within their wards.

Llewelyn and his army were so far invisible. But he had a camp above his palace at Aberconway for twenty thousand men. Edward marching on cautiously and slowly had reached the Conway River. The measures adopted to hinder supplies to enter Wales proved eminently successful against Wales, and in a short time Llewelyn and his people were starving. Llewelyn had evidently expected the still powerful Montfort party to rise in England, for the detention of Lady Eleanor and her brother was calculated to revive animosity and to anger them extremely. But now Edward diplomatically restored to the Montfort adherents all their landed estates, so that Llewelyn found himself alone with all the military power of England, the Marches, and West Wales, and most of Powys and Normandy in line of battle against him! "Gallant Little Wales"!

Llewelyn now sent to offer terms of submission to Edward. The answer was that he must surrender and consent to sixteen conditions. Further conditions were the release of Prince Owen (Lawgoch) and the restoration of his (Owen's) estates to him; pay Roderick, his brother, 1000 marks a year; and to David, Baron Frodsham, 500 marks a year, David being already largely provided for, as already described. The twelfth condition was that Llewelyn should enjoy for life the title of Prince of Wales, and, after his death, the five baronies of Snowdon should be held direct from the Crown of England. Another condition was that Llewelyn had now to pay to Edward 50,000 marks towards the cost incurred in that expedition against him. This was afterwards cancelled by the king.

Llewelyn yielded and accompanied the king to London, and with him were his principal barons. Llewelyn did homage now at Christmas, A.D. 1277. When the Welsh chiefs, who were quartered at the London suburb of

Islington, went abroad they were terribly stared at by the Cockneys. The proud Gimirrai¹—as the race when in Asia Minor was named on the brick tablets of Nineveh—from North Wales looked with disdain at the Londoners, descendants of Saxon hordes. Besides, they intensely disliked the London food and drink supplied them, so different to their accustomed wheaten bread, fresh butter and cream cheese, and fresh milk from their milch kine and she-goats, and as drink, Metheglyn, so that they left London indignantly for their native green hills far, far away, declaring—probably half in jest—"they would not come again to London, except as conquerors."

But it was a period in history when the ancient rule of the Britons of Wales over all Britain had not been quite forgotten in England. Besides, Merlin's Romances, promising the return of Infant King Arthur—the Mabyn of the Bards—to lead the Britons to regain their own ancient dominion over all Britain, were at the time inflaming the Welsh minds, as well as the minds of the Normans and French. This is abundantly proved by Edward I. inviting Llewelyn to join him and Queen Eleanor and the Court in a visit to Glastonbury to witness another exhumation of King Arthur and Queen Gwenwyver. It is very likely that King Edward himself was influenced by that lying story, and that the "invention" of the relics of Arthur—Uthr Ben Dragon, or "Son of the Serpent," of the monks—was founded in fear of the supernatural, for the bravest stands mysteriously awed in the proximity of what he regards as ghostly. But while the king and queen themselves went to the "shrine of Arthur," Llewelyn would *not accept the invitation*, for he knew perfectly well that that invented "shrine" was a fraud! Llewelyn was fully familiar with the Druidic fancies which gave material for the Arthurian fables of Geffrey, &c. He might have used them himself as long as they served his purpose, of firing his people in making efforts to regain

¹ Genesis x. 2; Ezekiel xxxviii. 6; Jeremiah iv. 7; Ibid. v. 15, 16, 17. (See Sir Henry Rawlinson and Professor Ragozin on the "Gimir" and "Gimirrai," and "Cimmerians.")

their ancient independence. But he would not go to Glastonbury himself on a childish errand, to do homage to a lie invented by priestcraft, of which he had lately had more than enough, in being excommunicated himself and his native land, for standing up for its native rights and liberties!

Lady Eleanor de Montfort was now set at liberty, and King Edward munificently delivered to her the great estates of Earl Simon de Montfort, her late father. Llewelyn further agreed to appear at the Parliament of King Edward twice a year. The wedding took place at Worcester Cathedral on October 13, 1278. As Prince Llewelyn and King Edward were proceeding towards the cathedral, King Edward took Prince Llewelyn on one side and whispered to him the question, "Would he promise never to harbour at his Court at Aberconway any enemy of his?" This act proves that Edward was not quite at his ease, and that there was something, too, in Llewelyn's stately innate dignity—he a descendant of a long line of ancient kings—which made the descendant of the tanner and carters of Normandy uneasy. Of course, Llewelyn promised, for it was as much as his life was worth to say nay now. Besides, there was the noble young bride waiting with Queen Eleanor and daughters, and all no doubt wondering what was happening. It was as if Satan had just stepped forth from his sulphurous den to hinder Llewelyn from paradise, until he had first made certain promises to him! The wedding, however, took place in the presence of Edward I., Queen Eleanor acting as a mother to the orphan bride.

BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM

Llewelyn and his bride now set out on their journey to Aberconway, North Wales, where the honeymoon was spent. It must, however, be conceded that Edward I.'s attitude that day towards Llewelyn after he had him in his power fully justified Llewelyn in having been before reluctant to trust himself into his power. The last letter, already

referred to, from young Eleanor de Montfort to King Edward—her late mother, the Countess of Leicester, it will be borne in mind, was sister to Henry III., Edward's father—proves that the king was animated by intense resentment towards her brother Amaury, still prisoner of State.

In 1280 Eleanor, Princess of Wales, gave birth to a little princess, to whom was given the name Gwenllïan. But, alas, poor Eleanor, Princess of Wales, herself died then, and her baby-girl became motherless, and Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, a disconsolate widower under circumstances the most pathetic known to mankind. Thus, unexpectedly, the family tie connecting Llewelyn with the royal family of England was broken. Llewelyn had a natural son named Madoc, who, judging by subsequent events in his brief career, was endowed with the valiant and lofty qualities of his father.

A GLANCE AT THE PAST OF THE TWO POWYSES— THEIR HISTORY

Prince Gwenwynwyn, son of the prince poet, Owen Cyveiliog (*d.* 1197), was kidnapped at Shrewsbury by the directions of King John and detained in prison a year, until he had covenanted to hold his moiety of Powys in chief under the crown of England. It will be thus seen that that meant also depriving the King of North Wales of that suzerainty which had belonged to it since King Rhodyri the Great, grandfather of Howel the Good.

Prince Gruffyth, son and heir to Gwenwynwyn, was not of age when his father died, and King John gave Powys Gwenwynwyn into the hands of King Llewelyn the Great during Prince Gruffyth's minority. He came of age in 1241, twelve months after the death of the said King Llewelyn the Great, and he then did homage to Henry III., and after paying the fee to the King of England his dominion was given back to him. Thus Upper Powys had then become part of England, differing

from a Lordship Marcher in that it was held direct from the crown.

Prince Gruffyth was succeeded by Owen, called by the Welsh Owen Arwystli (or the "Pawnd," a term of derision), and by the Normans named Owen de la Pole (of Welsh-pool). This last-named appeared at Shrewsbury in 1283 at the Parliament held there by Edward I., the next after the death of King Llewelyn at Builth. Owen Arwystli died somewhere about 1293, and his son Gruffyth, dying an infant in 1309, he was succeeded by his sister, Lady Hawyse Gadarn, who married Lord John de Charton, who was summoned to Parliament 27 Edward III., 1353.

Prince Gruffyth—another Gruffyth—was son of Prince Madoc, son of Meredith, after whom Lower Powys was called Powys-Madoc. He died in 1190, and, it will be remembered, was buried with his father at St. Mary's Church, Meivod, Montgomery. He had married Princess Angharad, daughter of Owen Gwynedd, sister of Princess Gwenllian, wife of Prince Owen Cyveiliog, father of Gwenwynwyn. This Gruffyth left a son named Madoc, who succeeded to Powys-Madoc. This consisted of Maelor, Bromfield, and Mochnant-on-Rhaiadr.

These particulars are necessary to understand what took place later, when Prince Llewelyn the Last attacked the two Powyses on the Offa Dike Provinces. At the time Llewelyn the Last was lured to the snare of Aberedwy Castle, on the eastern bank of the Wye, below Builth, Owen Arwystli (de la Pool) was the owner of Aberedwy Castle; therefore he must have been privy to the scandalous decoy Welsh letter which lured Llewelyn to the murderous snare at that castle, 10th December 1282.

TREATIES WITH HENRY III. AND EDWARD I.

The terms of peace in 1277, which force of circumstances, chiefly want of supplies for the Welsh, and the ardent desire of Prince Llewelyn himself to have released Lady Eleanor de Montfort, which was granted in 1278, induced Llewelyn and his State Council to agree to terms

of peace with King Edward and England. We summarise those terms as follows:—

(1) Unconditional surrender to King Edward. (2) All prisoners in the custody of Llewelyn to be given up by him. (3) Llewelyn to pay King Edward an indemnity of 50,000 marks. (4) The four Cantreys (Hundreds), between the Dee and Conway, to be delivered up to King Edward. (5) The adherents of King Edward to have delivered back to them their estates which they held before the Treaty of 1267 with Henry III. at the Castle of Montgomery. (6) Llewelyn to continue to possess the Isle of Anglesey. (7) If Llewelyn died, leaving no legitimate issue, the Isle of Anglesey to be delivered over to King Edward. (8) That all the barons of Wales, except those of Snowdonia, holding under Llewelyn should, after Llewelyn's decease hold under King Edward. (9) The five barons of Snowdonia should during Llewelyn's life hold of him. (10) Llewelyn should every year come to London to render homage to the King of England. (11) Llewelyn to repair to Rhuddlan Castle as soon as forgiven and absolved by the Church. (12) That he should there swear allegiance to the king, and do so likewise in London. (13) Llewelyn, during his lifetime, to enjoy the title Prince of Wales. (14) That, to guarantee the performance of those articles, Llewelyn to deliver to the king hostages. (15) Llewelyn to send every year out of Wales twenty of the North Wales chieftains, who with himself should do the king homage. (16) In case Llewelyn infringed the above articles, the said twenty to abandon Llewelyn and take part with his enemies. (17) The late joint-king, Owen, to be set at liberty, and his private estates restored to him, and Llewelyn to grant to his brother Roderick, who had recently escaped out of prison and joined the King of England, 1000 marks per annum; and 500 marks per annum to Prince David, Baron Frodsham, then with the king in his service.

Second Treaty.—(1) That if Llewelyn should lay claim to estates that belonged to other people, other than the king's beyond the limits of the conceded four Cantreys, the controversy should be adjudicated according to the

laws there in force. (2) All injuries in the past to be now forgiven. (3) All tenants holding land in the four Cantreys to do so as freely as they had done before the late wars, in the time of Henry III., 1267 : and 1277, the last in time of King Edward. (4) All disputes between the Prince of Wales and other persons to be adjudged according to the customs of the Marches, and any disputes originating in Wales should be decided by the laws of Wales. Advantages from shipwrecks to belong to the Prince of Wales if within his own territory. (5) All the ancestral customs of Wales were confirmed to the Prince of Wales. The king remitted to the Prince of Wales the 50,000 marks. All the foregoing conditions of peace were agreed to at the Abbey of Conway by commissioners representing both sides.

It will be remembered that the inhabitants of the four Cantreys had risen in the time of Henry (1267) in arms under Llewelyn, and had driven the Lords Marchers and their adherents pell-mell into Chester. The old Welsh proprietors had then resumed possession of their ancestral estates, having as the heads of the four lordships, or Cantreys, Denbigh, Ruthyn, Rhuddlan, and Diganwy or Conway. This was afterwards agreed to by Henry III. at Montgomery Castle in 1267. As soon as the fresh treaty with Edward I. was now put in action, the old Welsh proprietors in the four lordships named were again dispossessed, and the former Lords Marchers were reinstated by Edward I., 1279.

It is easy to picture the exasperation of the expelled Welsh chieftains when contemplating Norman lords swaggering proudly over the estates of their ancestors, and lording it at Denbigh, Ruthyn, Rhuddlan, and Conway !

Edward I. placed one Lord Reignald de Gray at Chester to act as his viceroy. This miscreant appears to have performed his stewardship (1277) with great cruelty towards the Welsh. The original despatches to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Peckham) giving illustrations of his conduct, preserved in Lambeth episcopal library, sent by Llewelyn, after being ratified by his State Council, prove that Lord Reignald de Gray made matters unendurable to

the natives, already under a deep sense of injury. There is one expression in one of the fifteen despatches (*vide* Warrington's Appendix), which throws a vivid light upon the attitude of Lord Reignald de Gray. It is there said "that he had threatened to hang every one who dared to complain to the king of his behaviour." This was at the time when Lord Reignald de Gray was the only channel between the Welsh and the king, and the question of language was a still greater obstacle to direct intercommunication between the Welsh and the king, who was in full sympathy with De Gray and his confrères in the four Cantreys, and everywhere else on the borders of Wales from 1277 onwards. Prince Llewelyn must have been constantly placed in a condition of deep anger by the reports of wrongs, which his friends reported to him, and the manner the king turned, or seemed to turn, a deaf ear to all the complaints arising from the Welsh people, not only in the four Cantreys, but generally along the Marches, from Chester to St. David's.

The young Princess Eleanor of Wales, during the year 1279, was in expectation to soon become a mother. Prince Llewelyn may have entertained the hope that the expected issue might exercise some beneficent influence upon the relation between England and Wales, owing to the Princess of Wales being first cousin to King Edward, and having besides been long in personal contact with Edward's adored Queen Eleanor of Castile and with their princely eight daughters. But Eleanor, Princess of Wales, as already stated, died in some part of A.D. 1280, leaving a daughter, a little Princess of Wales, christened Gwenllïan Eleanor Llewelyn. The tyrant afterwards, as in cruel derision, nicknamed her Lady Lackland.

LLEWELYN, PRINCE OF WALES'S LATE DEFENCE :
TERRIBLE ALLEGATIONS AGAINST EDWARD I.

(*From the Latin original of Lambeth.*)

The following communication to Archbishop Peckham, and now in the library at Lambeth Palace, the London

residence of the successive Archbishops of Canterbury, was penned by Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, a year and a month before his fateful ride to Aberedwy Castle, and his death :—

“With all reverent submission and honour we yield our most humble and hearty thanks to your Fatherhood for the great and generous pains incurred ; you have enhanced our indebtedness to you, for notwithstanding the king, you ventured to come to us.

“Respecting your request, that we may come to a peaceful solution with the king, we would have your Holiness to know that we are most ready and willing to enter into terms of peace with the king, provided that he, duly and sincerely, observes the peace towards us and ours.

“Moreover, although we would be glad of your continued sojourn in Wales, we hope (were you to depart) there shall be no delay on our part in coming to terms of peace with his Majesty, which we desire and wish for above all other things. We desire this may be brought about by your procurement above all others. That would make it unnecessary to appeal to the Pope. We duly appreciate your efforts, solicitations, painful journeys, and sincerely revere you for them.

It will not be necessary for the king to employ any force against us, inasmuch as we are prepared to obey him in all things provided our rights and our laws are respected by him. And, although the realm of England be under the special protection of the Holy See, and regarded by it with love, nevertheless when the Lord the Pope and the Roman Court shall understand what great injuries are done to us by the English his Holiness will extend to us his sympathy.”

The grievances are as follows :—

“The Articles of the Peace sworn to observe, broken ; robbing and burning of our churches ; murdering of ecclesiastics, both sacred and lay ; killing pregnant women, and suckling children ; destroying of hospitals and religious

houses ; and slaughtering religious people of both sexes at the altar.

"We trust your Fatherhood and the said Roman Court will with pity lament our condition, rather than with the rigour of punishment add to our sorrows.

"The kingdom of England shall not be disquieted by us, or molested (as is alleged), provided the treaty of peace with us is observed by it. Who are they who delight in war and bloodshed ? The answer is given by their deeds and behaviour.

"We abide quietly upon our own lands, as long as we are suffered to do so ; but the Englishmen, coming into our country, put all they were able to the sword, sparing neither women, aged persons, nor those in sickness, respecting not even sacred sanctuaries. Such things were never committed by Welshmen ! That one Welshman slew a man after a ransom for his deliverance had been paid, we are right sorry to hear it. We do not harbour the offender, but he has escaped and hides in the woods—an outlaw.

"We had not understood, until told by you, that the war was commenced at an improper and inconvenient time (Palm Sunday at Hawarden Castle). But those who did so assert that had they not taken up arms when they did they would have been themselves killed ; for they discovered that they were not out of peril even in their own houses. They were obliged to remain in armour constantly to protect themselves, and it was that which brought about hostilities.

"In regard to the allegations that we have committed offences against God, with His assistance we, as becomes Christians, will repent and turn unto Him. We shall not continue the war, provided we are not assailed, and are permitted to live as we should. But before we are either expatriated or slain we will defend ourselves !

"If proved by trial we have anyhow done wrong, we will make amends. But the king must do likewise. What peace can be hoped for when the king's charter, so

solemnly executed, is not observed and its terms performed? Our people are daily oppressed by new exactions.

“We enclose a list of injuries inflicted upon our people.

“We have put ourselves in armour, because driven by necessity to do so; for we and our people are oppressed and trampled under foot, spoiled, and reduced to slavery by the king’s officers, and we are treated as if we were Saracens or Jews.

“We have often complained of this to the king, but could never get redress; on the contrary, our complaints only made the officers worse than before we complained.

“And when those officers were enriched by their robberies, worse ones succeeded them; they fleeced those already shorn. Our people chose rather to die than live under so much oppression.

“Your holy Fatherhood should not give credence to all our adversaries say about us; for those who by actions wrong us will not hesitate to slander us. We desire you, even for His sake from whom nothing is hid, not to credit men’s words but their deeds.

“Thus we bid your Holiness farewell.

“Dated at Garth Celyn, in the Feast of St. Martin—
November 11, 1281.”

It appears that, in addition to Chester, Hawarden Castle, co. Flint, there were other headquarters of the instruments of Lord Reignald de Gray in his nefarious performances against the natives of the four Cantrevs. Even Prince David, an adherent to the king for the time being, had many reasons to complain of Lord Reignald’s attitude towards himself by way of encroachments and robberies at Denbigh, &c.

Here is Prince David’s own statement as to why he afterwards rejoined his brother’s, Prince of Wales’s cause:—
“Item V.—It is provided in the Treaty of Peace that all Welshmen in their causes should be judged after the laws of Wales.” This was in no point observed with the said Prince David and his people. Of these wrongs the said David often claimed amends, either according to the laws

of Wales, or of special favour ; but he never could obtain them of either.

Further, David was warned in the king's Court (at Chester), that as soon as Reignald de Gray should come from the Court (London) the said David should be taken and spoiled of his castle of Hope (near Mold, and called Caergwrle); his woods should be cut down, and his children (two sons and seven daughters) taken for pledges. David having taken much pains and perils for King Edward in all his wars, himself and his adherents, both in England and in Wales, and had thereby forfeited his native prestige in his own country, nevertheless he could obtain neither justice, amends, nor favour of the king. Having so many wrongs done him, and dreading for his own life and that of his children, or perhaps perpetual imprisonment, he was forced, as it were against his will, "TO DEFEND HIMSELF AND WALES." — *Despatches*, Nos. IV. and VII.

If David, a Welsh prince, brother of the Prince of Wales, and an active supporter of the king against his own brother and people, was treated, as he himself describes, by the king's agent and officers, what must have been the sufferings of the Welsh tenantry generally in the four Cantrevs and the Marches under the Normans from Chester to St. David's Head? It is not to be understood that the complaints of Prince David, and the complaints of the other Welshmen in these damaging despatches, were the *only* grievances that they endured, but that those grievances are given and placed before Archbishop Peckham, as a few illustrations only of the general misconduct of the said agent and the Lords Marchers, and the consequent sufferings of the people subject to their infamous rule. The entire Welsh population were, like Prince David himself, boiling with indignation. Welsh chiefs, we learn, approached Prince David, apparently at Hope Castle, and urged him to enter into renewed friendship with Llewelyn, his brother. The result was that the two brothers were reconciled.

There was another element likely to have now influenced

Prince David, namely, that his brother, now advanced in years, had lost his wife, and had only his baby daughter, Princess Gwenllian, and that, therefore, he was now heir-apparent to the throne of North Wales. Prince Owen would never be acceptable to the Welshmen.

It will be borne in mind by the reader that the despatches were sent to Archbishop Peckham after a first act of war by Prince David, enacted on the night of Palm Sunday, March 22, 1282, when he stormed the castle of Hawarden. Archbishop Peckham hurried from London to North Wales, a benevolent act said to be unknown to King Edward, and sought to avert further hostilities by inducing the two brothers and chiefs of Wales to submit to King Edward. Their replies ought to be regarded as national assets of Wales for all time.

CHAPTER L

THE INSURRECTION IN WALES—THE AWFUL DISASTER ON THE MENAI STRAITS—GREAT WELSH VICTORY —PANIC OF KING EDWARD, NOVEMBER 6, 1282

IT is evident that Welsh emissaries had been for some weeks passing to and from North and West Wales, and that preconcerted actions had been arranged in the three small Principalities at a given signal. It is evident that the king and his representatives had been completely hoodwinked, and had not the slightest suspicion as to the Welsh preparations. As already intimated, it commenced with the attack by Prince David on Hawarden. Probably this was the pre-arranged signal between North and West Wales, which rose four days later, March 25, 1282.

It was a dark, stormy night when Prince David and his warriors surrounded Hawarden Castle and assailed the garrison. In a very short time everything gave way before them. The rapidity and success of the attack are made manifest in the fact that Sir Roger de Clifford, who bore the title of Lord Chief Justice of Wales, was mortally wounded in his bed, was then placed in chains, and conveyed beyond the Conway to the care of the Three Eagles of Cadwalader, the heraldic arms of heroic Arvonian ! Several Norman knights, Fulk Trigald and others, within the said castle of Hawarden were assailed and killed before they had had time to reach their weapons. Thus the pent-up fury of the oppressed natives made a terrible impression in the midst of budding springtime. Pious tyrants, too, were shocked, because the Welsh had done this at Easter-time or Lent, and every effort was made to brand them with impiety by Norman ecclesiastics, who had had not a word to say about the impiety of Norman rapine and brigandage in Wales.

Four days later West Wales and Powys leaped to arms. Llandovery and Cerrig Cynan Castles, &c., and that of Aberystwyth were taken by Rhys, son of Maelgwn, son of Lord Rhys, and brother of Rhys Gryg, aided by Gruffyth, a son of Meredith, and brother of Rhys ap Meredith. They then ravaged the Marches of Wales, hurrying through the counties of Cardigan and Caermarthen. In all directions Welsh squads, under respective leaders, were spreading, greatly enraged. From every signal mountain the Coelgerth (beacon) fires blazed like volcanoes, and the Cynr Gwlad (the country's trumpets) sounded in every valley, and the natives spoiled the Norman settlements everywhere as they sped along.¹

Prince Llewelyn and Prince David besieged Rhuddlan and Flint Castles, which, in the expedition of Edward in 1277, had been made "Cities of Refuge" by the King of England in case of future necessity.

King Edward, when the storm broke out, was at Devizes Castle, piously observing Lent (1282). It appears that Llewelyn, benefiting by his experience in 1277, had now stored beyond the Conway plenty of supplies, and had made Anglesey a veritable wheat granary.

It is in our day rather amusing to observe that one of the first acts of King Edward, when tidings of the risings reached his ears at Devizes, was to write to Archbishop Peckham, at Canterbury, requesting him to "curse all the Welshmen and Wales by excommunicating them." He added that the curse of the Church, "therefore of Heaven, might make more effectual the swords of his army." What blasphemy this was, regarding the Almighty as a puppet to obey his bidding! This was not unlike the appeals of the ancient Druids, who, when compelled by force of circumstances, which they called "angen wrthyn," or repulsive necessity, to declare war, appealed only to the powers of Hell (Annhras) to help their cause! The archbishop understood Christian doctrine better than the

¹ The plover is called in Welsh, Corn Rhingyll-y-Waun ("The Trumpet of the Field Cornet"). In parts of Wales John the Baptist is called Rhingyll or "Field Cornet" (Richards).

king, remembering the gracious words, "Blessed are the peacemakers," and he hurried again to Llewelyn's Court at Aberconway, and he there heard from the Prince of Wales himself a recital of the intolerable wrongs and sufferings of Wales, which had compelled its people as free men to take up arms; and that the king had not taken any notice whatever of their many appeals to him. So impressed was the archbishop by what the Prince of Wales and his State Council described to him, "that he returned to King Edward and requested him to consider those wrongs, and cause reparations to be made, or at least to excuse the Welshmen, who had such reason to complain." It is a rather curious circumstance that his Grace ventured to do this.—*Vide Despatch, No. XV.*

It will be remembered that hitherto the Isle of Anglesey had been recognised as being an integral part of the Prince of Wales's dominions. Now, however, the king's council of war, expressing the king's own will, sent by the archbishop to the Prince of Wales and his Council at Aberconway as follows:—"First, the four Cantreys and the lands given by the king to his nobles, and the Isle of Anglesey, the king will not admit to treaty at all." There are two other clauses containing conditions dangerous to the personal safety of the Prince of Wales in case he submitted himself unconditionally to the king's mercy—*Despatch XVI.* Throughout the correspondence, Llewelyn expresses himself with manly dignity and piety, and as being anxious to come to terms with the king on his Majesty redressing the intolerable wrongs under which Llewelyn's countrymen groaned. Llewelyn adds the significant statement, "that were he himself, through weakness of any sort, to yield to the arbitrary will of the king, his Council *would never ratify it.*"

In another despatch the Council itself declares, "they would not permit their prince to place himself in the peril of approaching the king personally." All through the correspondence we see that the Council of State of Llewelyn was so constituted that the Prince of Wales

could not act without its sanction, proving that they had a constitution which ruled even the monarchy of Wales.

At last Archbishop Peckham did what he had been almost ordered from Devizes on March 26th to do, namely, "Curse Llewelyn and all his people," and he placed them beyond the pale of the law and the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ! It is pretty certain that it would have been a peril to his life to refuse to do this, for it is known King Edward hanged priests at Rhuddlan. The foregoing facts represent Edward as a fallen archangel defying Heaven itself! What a monster!

After this interval in fruitless negotiations, set on foot by the good prelate, war was resumed. It appears that the negotiations took place during the fortnight it is known the king and his army remained passive at Chester before taking the offensive. It will be remembered that Llewelyn and David, after the affair at Hawarden on March 22nd, besieged Rhuddlan and Flint Castles. The latter is twelve miles beyond Chester. The king appears to have divided his forces into two divisions. One went west, deploying north-east from Mold; the other north-east along the sea coast towards Flint. The first of those two movements was intended to guard against a possible movement by the Welsh army, with a view to get into the rear of the king's army on the left. The plan was successful, and the Welsh army fell back slowly to beyond Rhuddlan. The king took Hope Castle, and left Queen Eleanor there in safety. He then marched to join the other division, the two converging somewhere in the direction of Rhuddlan, their objective.

But all of a sudden the Welsh army charged full front with the utmost fury, and in the hand-to-hand conflict that ensued there were killed many on both sides, and among those who were slain were Lord Audley, Lord Clifford, Lord Richard de Argenton, and many others on the king's side. As showing the inroad of the Welsh now into the king's army, it is worth mentioning that they carried away fourteen royal ensigns. It seems the king himself had a narrow escape; for he flew back to Hope

Castle, many miles from the scene of the disaster. His army appears to have bolted into those "Cities of Refuge" mentioned already, provided through the king's foresight five years before.

In May 1281 the king had issued a proclamation in England, in which he urgently called for reinforcements. They then seem to have poured into Worcester towards the end of May, and that then they proceeded towards Chester. The forces now under Edward resembled an army prepared to fight some great continental empire rather than gallant little Wales! It appears that Llewelyn and David now fell back to beyond north of the Conway River, and there fortified all the passes in that region. We have it clear that the king, with his tremendous forces, did not deem it prudent to deliver an attack beyond the Conway River, running at right angles between him and Llewelyn.

In the spring of 1282, in this dilemma, the king decided to throw a division over the mouth of the Menai Straits into Anglesey, and construct a bridge of boats across the Menai Straits, to the Arvon shore opposite, in order that this division might be thrown from Anglesey across below Pont-y-Din-Gorwyach, above Bangor, and then march *back* the division to the rear of the Welsh army, facing the Conway River; Edward being on its south side.

CHAPTER LI

KING EDWARD BAFFLED—PREPARING MATERIAL FOR A BRIDGE—MENAI STRAITS SPANNED OVER

IN the White Tower of London—so-called after the Holy (White) Mount on ancient Parliament Hill, King's Cross—in 1805, were discovered four ancient rolls of parchment. They turned out to be the exchequer records of the cashier's disbursements of cash at Rhuddlan Castle in 10 Edward I. (1282). The contents were translated by Mr. Samuel Lysons for the "*Archæologia*," and it is now before the writer. It does not appear that any one in Wales has before observed the profoundly interesting character of the contents as means to discover the long lost details of the efforts made by Edward I. to pass over the Conway in 1282, and how his efforts were baffled by Prince Llewelyn, assisted by Prince David, his chieftains, and gallant forces.

Now, in those four rolls we discover that the neighbourhood of Rhuddlan Castle was, early in the year 1282, converted into a vast timber-yard. The records contain the following entries of moneys paid to carpenters, &c.—a great many at Rhuddlan Castle. We give the entries verbatim, and they will explain themselves. The timber was from the pine forest above St. Asaph—Bryn Pinwydd of Owen Gwynedd:—

"On Friday next after the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (August 15, 1282) at Rothelan, paid to Master Richard Lemingham, receiving by the day twelve pence for his wages, and the wages of three classes of overmen, consisting of twenty in each class, at sixpence per day."—(To interpolate, it will be seen that the overmen were sixty in number.) The record goes on:—

"And sixty-three carpenters, each paid fourpence per day, going to Anglesey for sixteen days, each day being reckoned, the total amounting to £18, 16s.

"100 carpenters at fourpence each per day, and their foreman at eightpence—total, £12, 3s. 9d.

"86 carpenters at fourpence per day, and foreman at eightpence per day—total, £10, 10s.

"96 carpenters at fourpence per day, and foreman at eightpence per day—total, £11, 8s. 6d."

It will be noticed that the first batch, whose united wages amounted to £18, 16s., were working in Anglesey during those sixteen days. The second batch, numbering 286 men, were employed in the Rhuddlan Castle timber-yard. Then follow other payments to carpenters, the total of whose wages are given at £55, 0s. 5d., £48, 18s. 3d., and £24, 13s. 7d. respectively.

"Sailors—Friday next after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Rhuddlan, paid to 47 sailors of the king, conducting boats to Anglesey, from Sunday, August 23rd to the 30th—seven days to seven sailors at sixpence per day, and forty sailors at threepence per day—total, £13, 18s. 5d."

We infer from the foregoing that the boats were seven in number, and the pilot of each received sixpence per day. Each boat had thus six rowers, and two over. Then masons are employed at fourpence per day each, and a foreman at sixpence per day for twenty-eight days—the sum total being £7, 18s. 5d. A charge for loading ships (boats?) going towards Anglesey, and carts for the purpose—total, 12s. 8d. For watching the said timber, 3s. 9d. Labourers were paid one penny per day, and we thus discover approximately the number of night watchmen employed, lest the Welsh might come upon the timber-yard through the darkness of the night. And it is further intimated that the timber was transmitted across by boats or ships to the Anglesey shore from Rhuddlan. This must have been sent down the Elwy River, and then, passing in front of Rhyl and Llandudno, to the entrance into the Menai Straits.

We further read that seven blacksmiths were employed. Those doubtless were employed to fix boats to grapnels in the bed of the Menai Straits, attached to chains fastened to the boats underneath the long floor or the platform of the bridge of boats stretching from the Mona shore to the Arvon side. There are many other items of deep interest in this official record, as "Paid to Henry Degenford for timber, and boards, and for conveying the timber to the ships from the timber-yard (at Rhuddlan), £3, 2s. It seems that the corn-mill—a vulnerable place—on the Conway River had been damaged by the Welsh, who had crossed the Conway at night, and attacked it, that Edward I.'s army might be bereft of flour, therefore of bread. . . . Great damage had been done to the said mill, for the sum of 22s. 4d. is paid only for conveying timber to repair the mill. The difference in the value of money then and now should be remembered.

In the same record it is stated the Welsh had killed at Rhuddlan many workmen, doubtless at night, probably watchmen of the timber-yard.

It is obvious that while the bridge of boats was being constructed across the Menai Straits it was indispensable to provide for its constructors a strong guard on the Anglesey side as well as to those towards the Arvon end of it. It will be borne in mind that the main force of the Welsh army was on the northern side of the Conway River, extending from the northern side of the entrance into it from the sea up to Llanrwst, facing all the power of England and Normandy, facing it on the south, the opposite bank. This main army was under the personal command of Prince Llewelyn, with whom was his brother, Prince David.

A strong division of the army of Prince Llewelyn had been detached to watch the construction of the bridge of boats, all armed to be prepared to meet the enemy when it would rush over the bridge when completed. This Welsh division was under the command of the Welsh General Richard ab Walwyn.

The following payments were made to the English

guards on the Anglesey side of the Straits, on the Saturday next, after the payments were made to the fore-mentioned carpenters; and the money was sent from Richard de Bieris, Edward I.'s paymaster at Rhuddlan Castle. It is obvious that the following payments were made to a detachment of the great army of the king, facing the Conway, for the numbers given are too few to represent more than a very small portion of the royal army. The following is a list of the payments now made:—

“Paid to Geoffrey Chamberine:—For the wages of twelve crossbowmen and thirteen archers for twenty-four days, the crossbowmen receiving fourpence per day each—total, £7, 8s. To Robert Gifford for eight constables of cavalry at twelve pence per day; fifty-seven archers at twopence per day; and forty captains of twenties at fourpence per day—total, £55, 6s. To the same:—For wages of eight constables and 846 archers and 41 captains of twenties (840) for seven days at the same wage, £53, 7s. 6d. To the same:—For wages of 1060 archers at twopence per day, with 53 captains of twenties at twopence, with ten constables of cavalry at twelvepence per day—total, £68, 8s. 6d. To the same:—For 1040 archers and captains, &c.—total, £67, 4s.”

The above brought down the disbursements to Saturday next after August 15, 1282. But the bridge of boats was not finished till November 6, 1282. Therefore it is clear that the four sheets are only a portion of the full account of the vast expense (considering the then value of money) incurred in connection with its construction, and the accounts of the disbursements during the ensuing two months and nine days have not been discovered.

During its construction, which was done from the Anglesey side, a strong force must have been rowed about between the entrance into the Menai Straits and the bridge. Doubtless the guards were rowed up and down in the boats of the Cinque Ports, all with arrows on their bows, and with faces towards the Arvon shore. The Welsh, behind the cover of the rising ground on that side,

must have constantly watched their opportunities, and frequently sent their whirring bolts among the guards in the guarding boats. The jeerings of both sides must have frequently diverted the conflicting parties.

As already said, the bridge of boats was wide enough to admit the lines of archers. Each line of sixty archers abreast was necessary in order to shoot in great force to oppose the Welsh, who they well knew would face the landing on the Arvon side. It seems certain the lines of boats were each anchored in the bed of the Straits, for otherwise they would be driven by the currents backwards and forwards. Another safe conjecture is that the three lines of boats were not fastened to the Arvon side till the last moment, and that then powerful grapnels were hurriedly thrown to fang the shore of county Caernarvon. Had the Arvon side been grapnelled earlier the enemy would have discovered before the fateful moment that the bridge when taut would be unequal to the task of resisting the action of the powerful current against the bridge.

THE BATTLE OF THE MENAI STRAITS

At break of day on November 6, 1282, the grapnels were hurled over from the nearest boats, fanging into the soil of Arvon; the armies on both sides were under arms. The royal army under the command of the king and the Welsh army under Prince Llewelyn facing each other, with the Conway between, were likewise under arms. The supreme moment had arrived. The king in the midst of his lines of cavalry; the crossbowmen and archers between the cavalry, in lines facing the Conway. Prince Llewelyn and his thousands of true patriots were ready in long lines extending through woods and plains on the opposite side. The bards, doubtless in hundreds, were among them, striking their little harps, and they sang with them of Fatherland.

In the midst of the general bustle of vast thousands on both sides of the Conway, suddenly the distant

sound of far-off fanfares of trumpets were heard. The signal to the king's division in Anglesey to charge at the double over the bridge of boats had arrived. In response the rams-horns of Gwalia, under General Richard Walwyn, responded defiantly! Valiant all! The charge from Anglesey commenced! In front of the Gascons and Spaniards, the hirelings of King Edward, were Lord Lucas de Taney, Lord William de la Zouch of Mortimer, Lord William de Dodingesless, and Lord Latimer. There were in all fifteen knights, thirty-two esquires, carrying flags from the points of their spears, sharpened for the Welshmen!

Down along the Anglesey side of the Menai were, we suppose, ranged signalmen, to make the ruthless king acquainted with the progress of the assault upon those on the Arvon side. The king himself must have watched from Dyganwy, on the way to Llandudno. He had no doubt but that he could now, in a very short time, get *via* Bangor and Carnedd Llewelyn around to the rear of the Welsh army under Llewelyn. There was a tremendous race of the division from the Anglesey side into and along the bridge. The Welsh were descending, too, towards its Arvon end, when, all of a sudden, after a thousand strong had reached the Arvon side, officers leading, and with others following, the foremost soldiers already meeting the Welsh in deadly grip, the bridge of boats snapped in the middle as if a Divine hand had cut it in two, and the two halves went swinging back, one towards Anglesey, and the other towards Arvon! No doubt the bridge also emptied itself of those at the moment upon it into the swollen Straits, for the tide was passing in. Then at the same moment the Welshmen were driving the Gascons and Spaniards before them like sheep into the waters of the Straits! It was an awful scene, and the only one of those who had crossed over into Arvon who escaped a watery grave was the commander, Lord Latimer, whose charger swam back to Anglesey, carrying his master safely on his back.

All these horrors were witnessed by the rest of the

English division on the Anglesey side in the act of approaching their end of the bridge when it gave way. They had not the remotest chance to be able to render any assistance to their struggling comrades on the other side in the grip of the Welsh and others in the water, who were hurling them into the waters of the Straits. It was like a *coup de théâtre*.

The king must have remained for some time puzzled as to the delay in sending to him the signal that the division had crossed over. What now must have taken place was, one of the officers in command of the rear division crossed the entrance into the Conway to the king with the report of the terrible disaster. The king was for once unnerved, for he now expected every moment the Prince of Wales would lead his army across the Conway and attack him when his forces were in semi-panic in consequence of the disaster. He anxiously glanced across the Conway! The catastrophe savoured in that age of art magic, and the bards, we repeat, were credited with being skilful in that art. What the king did indicates what he supposed the Prince of Wales would now do—namely, lead his army to the rear of the royal army down *via* Bettws y Coed, &c., for the king ordered an immediate retreat of his whole army, which, after a terrible run through Colwyn Bay, reached inside the walls of the wards of the castles of Rhuddlan, Flint, Hope, and wherever they could find refuge from pursuit.

Very severe weather soon set in, and the Prince of Wales and Prince David directed their forces into inaccessible places, north of the Conway. It is certain that the reason why the Prince of Wales did not now let slip his forces after the retreating royal army was, he suspected the retreat was a *ruse de guerre*. He lost a rare opportunity, which might have changed the destinies of Wales.

The spot from which the bridge stretched across is still called Pont y 'Sgraffiau, "Raft Bridge of Boats," a quarter of a mile below the present ferryboat above Bangor, and called Moel y Don, and the field on the Anglesey side is still called Cae Edward, or "Edward's Field" ("Cae Iorwerth").

It was on that field, it appears, the shiploads of timber from Rhuddlan Castle fields were transferred for the carpenters, a small army of whom were brought to the place from England.

In the foregoing we have seen the Norman lords, backed by successive Kings of England, and the military forces of England, Normandy, France, and Spain as recruiting grounds, pressing upon disunited Wales. Occasionally Wales would unite, and not only stand at bay, but attack with a courage and impetuosity worthy of their ancestors, who in innumerable battles during forty years (A.D. 44 to 84) gave a good account of themselves to the legions of the Cæsars; men who made the name "Briton" throughout the Roman Empire synonymous with valour. But, strange to us now, Glamorgan would never join against the common foe. Glamorgan and Monmouth were then the Meroz of Wales:—"Curse ye Meroz, says the Angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."—Judges v. 23. The reason was, as said before, the princes of Glamorgan, by descent from their ancient royal family, was the "unbenaeth Brydain," or the sole sovereignty, not only of all Wales, but of all the British Isles, and that all who did not recognise this were in their estimation rebels against their only sovereign, descended, they assumed, from the exiles of Troy. All rubbish!

Such was the rubbish which filled this royal family with insufferable pride, whose branches thrust themselves into each of the provinces of Wales, and poisoned its councils. When the Normans came to Glamorgan in about A.D. 1088, all the rest of Wales left its Meroz severely alone among its foreign enemies. But the peace and contentment afterwards under Norman rule there, brought great numbers of people from all other parts of Wales to dwell in it.

In the foregoing we see all of what is now called South Wales submitting to Edward I., and his adherent, Rhys ap Meredith, who was afterwards hanged by that king at York (1292) and his patrimony given to a Norman

adventurer. It was a case of "using treachery, but hating the traitor." In the face of the foregoing internal disunion and aggression of Edward I., we turn with amazement to the contemplation of the heroic Llewelyn the Last, and his valiant Snowdonians, presenting an unflinching front to Edward I. and the whole military forces of England, and sweepings of the Continent, together with the forces of the twenty-one Lords of the Marches of Wales, constituting altogether the chivalry of western Europe, and Llewelyn and his people defending their liberties and the Fatherland, against them all! We question whether the world ever witnessed before or since such a sublime spectacle! It is highly probable men of Glamorgan and Gwent fought in the national cause if their princes did not do so.

CHAPTER LII

ENSNARING PRINCE LLEWELYN—FOUL DEEDS ON THE IRVON RIVER, BUILTH—MURDER OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

IMMEDIATELY after the terrible disaster on the Menai and the panic retreat of King Edward I. and his entire army, which dispersed in fragments to Rhuddlan, Flint, and Caergwrle, otherwise Hope Castle, Edward joined Queen Eleanor at Hope Castle, which since A.D. 1277, it appears, had been restored to Prince Owen "Lawgoch" (Owen of the Bloody Hand), the long-imprisoned captive of Llewelyn. If he was not occupying the castle himself during Queen Eleanor's sojourn in it, he doubtless was a frequent visitor to it now. He was useful to Edward I., like Rhys ap Meredith.

In a few days after the disaster of November 6th, A.D. 1282, between that date and the ensuing December 10th, an extraordinary fall of snow took place, covering all Wales with a thick white mantle.

Now was concocted one of the most diabolical pieces of unknighly treacheries ever concocted in Great Britain. The fact that King Edward descended so low as to invent or sanction it, and put it into execution, indicates that the terrible disaster on the Menai, and the consequent triumph of Llewelyn, and his own corresponding humiliation, had almost maddened him. It appears that at the council of war held at Hope Castle near Mold, the king himself presiding, Prince Owen, still all over Wales called "Owen of the Bloody Hand," penned a decoy. We infer he wrote it, from the damning fact that the letter to be used to decoy Llewelyn to death was in the Welsh language!

This letter appears to have been to the effect that the

knights named in it would desert Edward I. The names being those of relatives of Llewelyn, it seemed the more plausible. The pretended deserters were, Sir Roger de Mortimer and Sir Edmund de Mortimer his son ; Sir John de Gifford, governor of Builth Castle ; Owen de la Pool, Arwystli, Shrewsbury ; and Sir Rhys ap Meredith, Dinevor Castle, co. Caermarthen. At the time of the council at Hope Caergwrle, Sir Roger de Mortimer, Wigmore Castle, co. Hereford, was recalled from West Wales, where he had been employed by Edward I. in observing Sir Rhys ap Meredith lest he should desert to Prince Llewelyn while he was engaged in co-operating against Llewelyn with Oliver de Dinham, while the last named was operating towards north by way of co. Cardigan, &c. Owen de la Pool Arwystli, did the same in Powys Gwenwynwyn.

At this very time, Aberedwy Castle, on the river Wye below Builth, was the property of Owen, Arwystli, and his part in the plot to inveigle Llewelyn is made perfectly certain, because he placed that Aberedwy Castle at the pretended disposal of Llewelyn and his "friends," and he was eventually one of his murderers !

We know nothing except by inference as to the proceedings at the council of war in Hope Castle, but we find in the Tower an order issuing from Hope to the proper authorities in such matters to make twelve Welsh flags of the lordship of Ewias, or the two valleys north of Abergavenny, in one of which, the Houddu, is situate the ruins of Lanthony Abbey. Now, by some circuitous route, the Welsh decoy letter was sent to Llewelyn, sealed with the family seal of each of the conspirators. Each knight signed documents with the family seal. In that letter the infamous scoundrels pretended they were about to desert the king and join Llewelyn. Then he was invited to come down through the snows to Aberedwy Castle to "confer" with them as to future action.

Llewelyn appears to have received the decoy letter while at home at Aberconway Castle ; then he must have submitted what he regarded as a most important document to Prince David, and his State Council, which had assisted

him in drawing up his answers to Archbishop Peckham. The letter purported to be the very thing he most ardently desired—and therefore a bait most fascinating—namely, the co-operation from the south-west of Wales, and Powyses, higher and lower, east of Wales, acting together under viz., Prince Rhys ap Meredith, Dinevor, and Owen de la Pool, Arwystli, respectively, from Shrewsbury; together with the two Mortimers, the father Roger, Edmund his son, and Sir John de Gifford of Builth Castle. Such a combination marching up towards the Conway, while his own army came from the northern side over the Conway to meet them, would necessitate Edward I. to become again panic-stricken, because between, as it were, “two mill-stones,” and compel him to hurry back to England through Chester.

We know for certain the decoy letter was written in the Welsh language, from the fact that Peckham intimated it had been translated for him at Wigmore Castle, where the original was shown to him by young Sir Edmund de Mortimer, the son of Roger of that castle. We say, had the letter been in Latin, Norman-French, or English, the archbishop would not have needed a translation of it.

The following contains a direct allusion to the decoy letter. It is known that, by the time of Henry VII., all inhabitants of England had become in Wales to be known as “Saeson,” instead of Francod, Saeson, Gwyr Duon (Danes), or swarthy people. By Francod, the Welsh meant originally Normans; and by Saeson, they meant Saxons generally. At the present day, the name English is rendered Saeson in Wales. In the time of the Wars of the Roses, Sir Gruffyth Vychan or Vaughan, a descendant of Gruffyth, son of Prince Gwenwynwyn, Powys, was suspected by Queen Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI., of holding secret correspondence with the Duke of York. The queen and her Council directed Henry Grey, lord of Powys Castle, Welshpool, to capture him. Gruffyth was treacherously invited to visit Powys Castle. He at first declined to go, unless he had a safe conduct, but on receiving it, he proceeded thither. But on entering the

precincts of Powys Castle, he was arrested, and beheaded, without any sort of trial, on the spot.

A bard, named David Mathravan, in the time of Henry VII., wrote as follows, alluding to the treachery in both instances, practised on Sir Gruffyth and Prince Llewelyn :—

“Fy Nghar, ni chynghorais,
I ymddyried yn Signed Sais . . .
—Truain weddillion Troia !—
Ni a wyddem dywyll—anmhyll oedd !
Y Saeson er Oes Oesoedd :
Pen Tywysog Cymru yn Mualt, a
Phen Gruffyth ; waew meinrudd mellt.”

Translation.

“My friend, I did not counsel
Trusting to the Seal of a Sais—’twas uncautiously done !
For we had been, through long ages, familiar with the inveiglement
of Saeson, resulting in the beheading of Prince Llewelyn at
Builth: and the beheading of Sir Gruffyth at Powys Castle.
—His ruddy spear was like flashes of lightning !”

Llewelyn unfortunately decided upon accepting the invitation. He seems to have proceeded to select from his army for the hazardous journey eighteen Welsh archers, noted as marksmen, for escort, and also his monk secretary. Meanwhile, a letter was sent by King Edward by an orderly to Cardigan, to direct young Sir Edmund de Mortimer to go and join Sir Roger, doubtless at Shrewsbury. This he did, and he was there no doubt confided with particulars as to the diabolical snare prepared for the Prince of Wales. It seems it was dangled before Sir Roger in that letter the promise, as Henry III. had before hinted, he would be appointed the heir of Prince Llewelyn should the inveiglement result, as was intended, in the death of Llewelyn.

Meanwhile, the tidings reached the king at Mold Castle that Earl Gilbert de Clare, Caerphilly, &c., had just defeated the Welsh at Llandello, Vawr, close to Dinevor, co. Caermarthen, but with the loss of five knights, including Lord William de Valence, cousin to the king

(*History of Warwick*, p. 165). The lordships of Brecon, Abergavenny, &c., were held by De Breos, and that of Glamorgan by Earl Gilbert aforesaid. This was the state of affairs at this moment.

We have no means of knowing how many days Llewelyn had been waiting at Aberedwy Castle. Doubtless the inclemency of the weather had somewhat delayed the infamous plotters. It appears it was one of the sentries, one of the valiant eighteen, who first noticed a squadron, carrying Welsh pennons on the spear heads, approaching the Wye on the opposite bank. He must have instantly invited Llewelyn's attention to the squadron, and that the prince himself supposed it came from Brecon, that De Breos there had heard of his presence at Aberedwy and was come to attack him.

The order "To horse!" was given by Llewelyn, and in a few minutes he and his escort were thundering at full gallop along the eastern side of the Wye, towards Builth Castle, four or five miles higher up on the western side of that river. In those days rarely were bridges in Wales constructed for any other purpose than for the use of pedestrians, therefore the bridges were footbridges, fenced by handrails on both sides, each rail being called Cynllaw. Cattle and everything on wheels passed through the bed of the river. Therefore, when the rivers were flooded and swollen traffic was suspended until the water subsided. At some place, as reminiscent of those days, one may see some ancient public-houses, one on each side of a Welsh rhyd or passage over a river. The twenty Welshmen had, at Builth, to leap off their horses, leave them behind, and then run over the footbridge. They somehow managed to break down the footbridge, which fell into the enormous brown torrent below. In a few minutes the pursuing horsemen arrived among Llewelyn's horses, and finding the bridge gone, they retraced their way back, a distance of eight miles, to a wide part of the flood, and therefore shallower than the rest, at Mochryd, which they had before crossed. Moch Ryd signifies "Passage for swine"; doubtless in the acorn season.

It was now the Prince of Wales and escort felt the loss of their horses. On their backs they would have easily escaped, for they had sixteen miles start of their pursuers—that is to say, eight miles down one side of the Wye, and eight miles up on the other side. There is one touching fact, proving that the prince, even now, had no suspicion the pursuing horsemen were his own treacherous relatives; for the first thing he did now was to go to Builth Castle, and order the garrison to lower the drawbridge, wind up the portcullis, and admit him and his soldiers within the walls. The lord of the castle, Sir John de Gifford, was among the horsemen who had galloped after him and escort.¹ A few days before this the prince had passed with his escort down that way to Aberedwy unchallenged and unmolested.

The garrison, probably chiefly Normans, knew very well the meaning of what was passing. But they appear to have been too few to sally out when they saw their master and the rest unable to pass across the Wye, directly opposite the castle. They were also too few to admit the prince and his gallant escort; for if they had dared to do so, here was an opportunity for them to do what all the others were endeavouring to accomplish, namely, capture the Prince of Wales.

Prince Llewelyn, thinking that the garrison were disloyal to Sir John de Gifford, his private friend and relative, as he still supposed him to be, cried out on their refusal, “Bradwyr Bualt!” (“Traitors of Builth”), words which have, most unfairly, stuck to the inhabitants to this day. He lingered before the castle, no doubt expecting every moment Sir John himself would come

¹ Sir John de Gifford continued as governor of Builth Castle, as a record of the exchequer proves, till 25 or 26 Edward I., or A.D. 1290. We further discover he was with Edward I. on the Conway on November 6, 1282, in command of one thousand archers. This makes it pretty certain it was he who brought the twelve flags from Hope Castle, first to Builth, and then to the other conspirators somewhere in the direction of Abergavenny. We further see why the neighbourhood of Builth was selected for the lure and snare for Llewellyn y Llyw Olav. Clark, in his *Land of Morgan*, states the Builth Ferry was let for £4 a year by Sir John de Gifford.

to his assistance from somewhere, and thus time was lost in parleying with the garrison on the walls. The bard, quoted already, calls the prince "aged." Doubtless he was tall and stout, as his race usually were, and that running was out of the question. But there was no time to lose, for the enemy, whoever they might be, were surely coming rapidly. A quarter of a mile north and behind the town the Irvon River enters the Wye at right angles, the junction being on the right of the road, north. The prince, on reaching the Irvon River, discovered the footbridge over it destroyed, probably by one of the garrison when the parley was taking place. The Irvon also was in high flood, and impossible to cross. Here the prince and party found themselves in the corner of an angle, formed by the junction of the Irvon with the Wye. The earth was slushy from melting snow, and most difficult to travel on foot. But the prince and his nineteen companions in adversity were told by some one—they could not have known it themselves, for they were all strangers to the district—there was another bridge three miles higher on their right going up by the Irvon. Thither they directed their course as fast as they could. They were all horsemen and unaccustomed to walk, but on they went, nine, we imagine, in front and nine behind their beloved prince, each prepared to die to protect him from injury. At length they reached the other bridge, called Pont-ar-Ewyn, or "Bridge over Foam." There the bed of the river is full of great rocks and boulders, and when the river is in high flood, it was there under the bridge one rolling sea of white eddying foam—a pretty sight to witness. From that bridge to the highway, running from Builth parallel with the river, but on higher ground, the road from the bridge—still traceable—to it runs up through the wood in zigzag fashion, to avoid the steepness of the ascent, which is two hundred yards in length.

No sooner had Prince Llewelyn and his gallant escort crossed the footbridge than they broke it, and it fell into the foaming flood. It seems that immediately after that

had been done, the hurraing of their pursuers fell on their ears. The aged prince, evidently very much exhausted after the hurried three miles' walk through the snowy slush, went up into the wood, hoping, doubtless, that when they saw he was not among his escort they would suppose he had made good his escape. It was a moving sight to see those eighteen young Welshmen of Eryri, Llyn, and Eivionydd, bows in hand, lining the river bank, facing the Norman cavalry on the bank opposite, and flying many an unerring bolt among them. Wales hears the twangs of their bowstrings down the centuries! They could have run away, for they were young and nimble, but run away they did not! The monk-secretary of the prince afterwards stated that the prince said that those young Welsh archers, in that position, could hold an army at bay. Like Napoleon's Old Guards, they died and did not surrender. Let us honour the memory of those brave sons of Snowdonia for it! They all died in defence of the descendant of a hundred anointed Kings of Britannia. It seems certain it was now Llewellyn beheld for the first time and recognised his whilom friends and relatives, and understood he had been ensnared by them!

It was impossible to cross in the face of the Eryrian bowmen, even had the flooded Irvon permitted them to attempt it. It appears that while the exchange of shots was taking place on both sides of the river, a party of Norman horsemen passed down the river-side unobserved by the prince, whose attention was absorbed by the sight of his treacherous relatives across the river. After searching for some time a number of them succeeded in passing over up to the highway from Builth. Higher up than the spot where they reached the highway, the road divides into one going to the right towards Llanavan Fawr, and the other on the left towards Llangammarch. A hundred yards up this last-named road, another road turned to the left, and went down zigzag, as stated above, to the Pont-ar-Ewyn, or "Bridge over Foam." The little cutting within a few yards from the entrance turning into it is still

called Cwm Llewelyn, or "Llewelyn's Inlet," which is nothing but the ancient cutting through which this road passed down from the main one through the wood to the said bridge, which bore also the name Pont-y-Coed, or "Bridge in the Woods."

Trooper Adam de Francton and others, after galloping up the main road, turned down on the left into this descending road, going down on the left to the river. As it happened, the Prince of Wales and his monk-secretary, the last being a priest was in ecclesiastical apparel, but the Prince was, we suggest, in coat-of-mail. Both were on the zigzag descending road, facing the escort below, and the roar of the conflict, with the river between Normans and Welshmen engaged, prevented them from hearing the clatter of cavalry coming from the direction of Builth, and they seem to have come upon them before the prince was aware of their presence. Adam de Francton speared in the back the aged warrior he saw, but did not touch the ecclesiastic. The object of those troopers was to get into the rear of the Welsh archers, and Adam de Francton, out of mere barbarous hilarity, stabbed with his long lance the aged man in coat-of-mail he saw, as he was watching the fight below on each side of the stream. It seems that the Welsh archers, when they saw these troopers coming down towards them through the wood, formed back to back, nine facing the river and nine facing the troopers hurrying down the road through the wood. We infer this from the historical statement that the Welsh escort kept the enemy at bay during three hours.

The long silence of the prince appears to have infused into their minds the hope that he had somehow succeeded in making good his escape. They did not live to learn otherwise, for the eighteen died there. Their grave must be close to the Irvon River, which to a poet has ever since been chanting their requiem—they, the unreturning braves of old Wales.

LLEWELYN'S LAST MOMENTS

Divested of the palpable errors of writers unacquainted with the country, the Welsh language, traditions, and the geography of the immediate district where Llewelyn breathed his last, the facts we gather are as follows:—After Trooper Adam de Francton had wounded him with his long lance while galloping down the zigzag road, the prince fell to the ground and lay insensible for a time, with only his monk-secretary in attendance, and greatly distressed. Llewelyn presently revived somewhat, but extremely weak from loss of blood; he was in fact bleeding to death, notwithstanding the attendant's eager efforts to staunch the outflow.

When he again woke to consciousness he must have once more heard the roar of the conflict down by the river, a hundred yards below that hillside. He whispered the word "water," and the attendant then giving him his arm, they went slowly up through the small cutting through which the road turns to the left from the main one descending to the "Bridge over Foam." There they came on their left upon a spring of purest water bubbling up into a small pool. There Llewelyn must have sat down, while his secretary gave him icy water taken from the pelucid pool in his scallop-shell. He must also have bathed the grand lion-like features with the cool waters—it was a snowy December 10th. But he was still, except for his murmurings; perhaps his dreamy whisperings were "*Eleanor*," "*Gwenllian vach*" (little Gwenllian), &c. It was obvious to his attendant that Llewelyn was dying there in the snow in the midst of Fatherland, but far away from his heroic army.

The following letter of Archbishop Peckham to Einion, the Bishop of Bangor, who afterwards christened Edward of Caernarvon, reveals several circumstances: namely, the decoy Welsh letter, the secret place on his person where it was discovered, the last words of Prince Llewelyn, the monk-priest chanting the prayer over the said dying

heroic King of Wales, the savage behaviour of Sir Roger de Mortimer, Wigmore Castle, and the archbishop's great dread of Edward I.

LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM TO THE
BISHOP OF BANGOR

"Concerning what was found beneath the thigh [*femoralia*] of Llewelyn, formerly Prince of Wales, containing the Names of many Men of Position" [they were five], "I, brother by Divine Ordination, and a humble Minister of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Canterbury, and Primate of all England, send Greetings to the Venerable Father in Christ, Bishop of Bangor, by the Grace of God, and pray for continued increase of brotherly love. Since certain things are discovered to endanger us and our Lord the King, whosoever is faithful ought to direct themselves to hide nothing from him as far as possible ; and we, assuming that our honour and highmindedness are safe from treachery of enemies, send you this [the decoy letter] incomprehensible document [*obscurum quidum verbis*], made difficult, indeed, by its very words, couched in fictitious terms. This translation [*transcriptum*] of the document, the original of which Sir Edmund de Mortimer possesses, was found between metallic leaves [*inventum fuit in braciis*] on Llewelyn, sometime Prince of Wales.¹ We take care that this document, together with Llewelyn's one small seal [*una cum sigillo*], shall be in safe custody for our Lord the King if it please him to have them sent to him. In addition to this matter we under-

¹ These expressions prove the original was in Welsh. Had it been in either Latin, Norman-French, or in English, a "translation" would have been unnecessary. Owen, the brother of Prince Llewelyn, who had been liberated in 1277 at the instigation of Edward I., was now with Edward and under his special protection, that being necessary owing to the breaking out of fresh hostilities. In the literary annals Owen is called Owen "Goch," or the "Red," but universally among Welshmen he is called "Owen Lawgoch," or of the Bloody Hand. It seems conclusive the whole people knew it was *his* "hand" which drew up the original Welsh of the decoy letter, which procured the blood of Llewelyn at Llewelyn's Well, Builth.

stand that some [ecclesiastics] near Rhuddlan, who had fallen into disgrace with the clergy, and in contempt with the Ecclesiastical Division, are punished with robbers and other malefactors, being sentenced to capital punishment. Lest that should come to pass with the remainder, be zealous and energetic in the matter.

"We are troubled in mind respecting those Clergymen who are desolate in Snowdonia. We would have gladly taken them to their own homes when we visited those regions if found agreeable to the King in his mercy. Our Lord the King even will be unable to excuse himself from responsibility should some evil happen to them. If from any quarter you have discovered anything which by our assistance may result in their deliverance, write to us; then we shall be prepared on their behalf to report their danger, and to suffer, as far as able, even in our body, for the honour of God. Besides, there are certain enemies of God and to our jurisdiction" [in Canterbury] "whom, while we were lately visiting the Diocese of . . ., we found to be averse to our jurisdiction and commands, for they despised our orders. For this reason they deserve to be punished by us at the Greater Excommunication, lest their warlike spirit may be strong enough to boast in contempt of Ecclesiastical [Canterbury's] discipline, and to infect others by their wicked examples, and inveigle them into similar excommunications. Accordingly we send this to you that you may reply to the points if it be your pleasure to do so."

"Concerning the goodwill which you bear towards us, we respond to your fraternal actions as frequently as we are able. We are prepared always to assent to your good wishes as far as we are able by the power of God. May your fraternal actions always in Christ and the blessed Virgin prevail [*Virgine Gloriosa*]. Always write to us in confidence concerning what in honour you wish us to do. If our Lord the King wish to have what was found upon Llewelyn [*transcriptum illud, quod inventum fuit in Bracali*], he will be able to have it from Lord Edmund de Mortimer, who has the *original document* in

his custody; also Llewelyn's Privy Seal, and other documents, found *in the same place on his person*. It is dangerous to introduce this matter otherwise than gradually to the King, and we thus, beforehand, prepare him for it. Nevertheless, let him do what he himself deems expedient."—Rymer, vol. ii. p. 224.

At the foot of the above letter are the words, "*Domino Bathon de Wellen Episcopo*." In the letter to the king himself, the archbishop states he has written to the Bishop of "Ba." That clearly means Bangor. Rymer must have mistaken the "Ba" for Bath and Wells. So much in favour with the king was Einion, Bishop of Bangor, that he was two years later selected to christen Edward of Caernarvon, the successor of Llewelyn. It stands to reason that Peckham was more likely to communicate with Bangor than with Bath and Wells touching the subjects dealt with in the above letter.

LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM TO KING EDWARD I.

"To my very dear Lord Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, I, John, by permission of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, send greeting with great reverence.

"Sire,—Know that those who were at the death of Llewelyn found in the most secret part of his body [*vide* other letter, *infra femoralia*, "under his thigh"] things which we have seen. Among other things found is a *letter* containing *fictitious names as a disguise in treason*. And that you may see this we send a copy of the letter to the Bishop of Ba" (Bangor). "The original letter is retained by Sir Edmund de Mortimer, together with Llewelyn's Privy Seal and other things found on Llewelyn, you can have at your pleasure. This we send you to acquaint you, and not that any of them" [whose names were in the document (decoy letter) found on Llewelyn]

"may be injured. And we pray that none [of them?] be put to death, nor mutilated by reason of our intimation. Let what we desire be observed.

"In addition to this, Sire, it must be mentioned that Dame Maud Longespee besought by letter that we would be willing to absolve Llewelyn in order that he might be buried in consecrated ground. We answered 'that we would do nothing unless it could be proved that he evinced signs of true repentance before his death.' Edmund de Mortimer told me that he had heard from his foot soldiers [*ses Vallés le furent à la mort*], who were at his death, that he had demanded a priest [*demaunde le prestre*] before he died. But without direct evidence to that effect we will do nothing in the matter. Know further, that the very day Llewelyn was killed a white monk (Muygne Blaunc) chanted a mass [*li Chaunzo Messe*] to him; Lord Roger de Mortimer had the vestments [*'ad,'* in the words, '*ad le Vestements*' is a recognised form of *avait, anglise* 'had.'].

"Also, Sire, we ask you to have pity on the clergy; that you will not allow them to be put to death or to suffer bodily harm. And now, Sire—may God keep you from harm—if you do not prevent the foregoing, to the best of your power, you will fall under condemnation, for to suffer what one can prevent stands for consent. Therefore, Sire, we pray you that it may please you that the clergy who are in Snowdonia may come forth from there, and proceed to France or elsewhere, for we believe Snowdonia will eventually be yours. Should it happen in conveying it, or afterwards, any harm is done to the clergy, God will bring it back to yourself; and, further, your good renown will be tarnished, and we shall be regarded as cowards.

"On these matters, Sire, be pleased to write to us to say you will accede to our requests, for we shall report to the Council [Convocation?] either by going there personally or by other means. And should you, Sire, not grant what we crave, you will cause us deep sorrow which would abide with our mortal life. Sire, may God keep you

and all who depend upon you.”—Pembroke, County Hereford, Thursday after St. Lucy’s Day, 1282.

The archbishop dreads approaching Edward I. as he would Mount Etna ! St. Lucy’s Day was on December 13th ; therefore, if the usual date given of the death of Llewelyn be correct, the archbishop must have penned the foregoing most valuable two letters, one to the Bishop of Bangor, for the purpose of preparing the mind of the king for his other letter to the king himself, immediately after the event ; and he seems to have called on his way to Pembroke, at Wigmore Castle, where Sir Roger and Sir Edmund de Mortimer showed him the articles discovered upon Llewelyn’s body, and where also the decoy letter in Welsh was translated and copied for him into Norman-French, and he states he is sending the copy to Einion, Bishop of Bangor. One cannot help picturing the father and son at Wigmore Castle hoodwinking the good archbishop as to the real meaning of the decoy letter. His Grace evidently read the names and examined the respective seals in brilliant wax upon it. Yet it is to him an “incomprehensible document.”

It is apparent the doubting archbishop was too upright to finally conclude that the knights who had decoyed the prince to his death had been cowardly and treacherous enough to lend their own names and the impress of their respective family seals to a document in order to lure Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, from his invincible army, so that he might be murdered in cold blood !

The decoy letter was written in the Welsh language, and Sir Edmund de Mortimer had it translated—so much of it as was expedient that the archbishop should know—for the archbishop, who sent the copy by special messenger to the Bishop of Bangor, so that he might gradually acquaint his Majesty with its contents, especially the names of the knights which he thought had been treacherously inserted in the letter—inserted, he supposed, or pretended to suppose, without their knowledge or consent. We see that the archbishop was

trembling lest the king, on seeing those names which their owners had declared to him had been inserted without their knowledge or consent, might in a moment of rage order them to be immediately executed. That is what he means by the words, "it is dangerous to introduce this matter otherwise than gradually to the king." But the king had seen and handled the original letter itself, *before it was, with murderous intent*, sent to the Prince of Wales, in Snowdonia, between November 6th and December 10th.

The letter itself bore such damning evidence of the foulest treachery by Edward I. against Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, and of all the codes of honour among all civilised nations, that after the consummation of the villainy it made Sir Roger de Mortimer, his son Sir Edmund de Mortimer, Owen Arwystli (Welshpool), Sir John de Gifford (Builth Castle), and Sir Rhys ap Meredith (Dynevor Castle) feel like murderers, especially in the presence of the archbishop, as one of the All-seeing Omnipotent God's delegates on earth. It is curious that the decoy letter was shown at all to the archbishop. He must have somehow heard of its existence,¹ and to have now asked to be allowed to see it. But as to its contents, except for its names and seals, being in Llewelyn's own language, they could state what they pleased. It is significant that while the archbishop's own two letters were preserved the decoy letter—most important of all—*was not preserved*. It was no doubt destroyed at Wigmore Castle—itsself now a heap of ruins like Gomorrah!

Prince Llewelyn wore chain armour, which now served a double purpose, viz. protect him from the inclemency of the weather and as a means of defence in war. We infer the chain armour from the fact that the decoy letter was discovered between two thin sheets of tin underneath his thigh. It appears they were bent so as to accommodate his position on horseback.

Believing that the letter inviting him to Aberedwy Castle

¹ From the White Monk secretary?

was genuine and honest; that Sir Roger de Mortimer, his son Sir Edmund de Mortimer, Owen de la Pool (Arwystli), Sir John de Gifford, and Rhys ap Meredith, were incurring deadly peril by signing and sending it to him, honest Llewelyn carefully placed the letter where he thought it could never be discovered, whatever might happen to himself during the journey down from the Conway. It seems that the conspirators, knowing the letter was somewhere about his person, made the most minute search for it, and eventually, as Peckham states, discovered it "in the most secret part of his person." The conspirators were about to leave the body by the roadside, and somebody else might come and find the letter, and being in Welsh, the country people could all read it. This would lead to the discovery of the infamous way the wretched villains had compassed Llewelyn's death!

Llewelyn was not quite dead when his cousin, Sir Roger de Mortimer hurried up to the spot, guided by Adam de Francton, for he found the monk-secretary still chanting prayers for the dying over him, and he tore away the priest's sacred vestments. But Sir Edmund de Mortimer—the son—stated to the archbishop, that it was from his foot soldiers he had heard Llewelyn had called for the prayers of the priest. This seems to convey that this was before Sir Roger—the father—reached the spot, and while Llewelyn was still conscious and able to speak. We see here an intimation that the monk-secretary was loth to utter a word even of prayer in Llewelyn's hearing which might convey to the wounded prince he thought he was *in articulo mortis*, until Llewelyn himself intimated it, by "calling for a priest." But for the severe injuries he had sustained, there was ample time to get out of the track of the returning troopers coming up from the river. The reason why Adam de Francton did not also stab the secretary was, as hinted before, because his ecclesiastical habit indicated he was an ecclesiastic and non-combatant; but we suggest, from Archbishop Peckham's letter to the king, that Llewelyn was in coat-of-mail, therefore a combatant, and a fair game to Adam de Francton.

The monk-secretary was a Welshman, for, heedless of the ban of the Church of Rome, cursing Llewelyn and all Wales, at the command of Edward I., he dared to impart to dying Llewelyn extreme unction, after donning his purple clerical vestments, and offer up prayer to God on behalf of dying Llewelyn y Llyw Olav! The well, as stated before, was on the left of the ascending road through the wood; and in returning, Adam de Francton must necessarily pass that way. The voice of prayer must have fallen on his ears before he reached the actual spot, and, on reaching it, he must have gazed eagerly upon the prostrate form of the aged warrior whom he recognised as the man he had pierced through the body three hours before, now with the pallor of death on his noble features, and the priest over him chanting the dirge of the Church. De Francton leaped from his charger, and was soon rifling the pockets of the dying for valuables. What a scene! Barbarity and religion contending over the dying King of Wales in the snow on the roadside!

Adam de Francton appears to have next hurried back down to the side of the Irvon stream, and there among the prostrate eighteen bleeding escort lying about shouted to the five knights on the opposite side of the foamy current stating what he had found. Young Sir Edmund de Mortimer quickly crossed the Irvon below, where Adam himself had crossed earlier, and, coming to the scene of death, found the monk still chanting; a proof perhaps that Llewelyn was still lingering in life. Sir Roger arrived and approached the priest threateningly, and did a thing which hardly a savage would have done, namely, stripped the priest of his purple vestments! Soon the three other knights were there with their soldiers around them. The mind reverts reverently and sympathetically to the eighteen sons of Eryri, lying bleeding still in various bushes where they had fallen. No chants had they, except the chant which God had invested the foaming and eddying Irvon with!

The Grey Friar had opened his valise, and, taking out the clerical vestments, carried as the chaplain of the Prince of Wales, began in low tones to chant the Catholic

service on behalf of the dying—*Dominus vobiscum! Requiescat in pace!* Always when a priest is about to offer up a prayer for the dying, he dons his surplice and purple stole. The monk-priest, in a loud chanting voice, must have said as follows, in Latin:—

“Proficisere, anima Christiana, de hoc mundo, in nomine Dei Patris Omnipotentis qui te creavit; in nomine Jesu Christi, Filii Dei Vivi, qui pro te passus est; in nomine Spiritus Sancti qui in te effusus est,” &c.

Translation.

“Go forth, O Christian Soul, out of the world, in the name of God the Father Almighty who created thee; in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, who suffered for thee; in the name of the Holy Ghost who sanctified thee,” &c.

The prayer is a very long one, and the faithful religionist, standing in the snow with streaming eyes, had been some time engaged, Sir Edmund standing by, when Sir Roger de Mortimer, like a son of hell, bounded into the place, and with angry voice and gestures, rushed upon the priest, and tore away his royal purple stole, the symbol colour of the majesty of Almighty God, whom the priest represented by his sacred office.

After the Prince of Wales's identity had been discovered not one of the troopers would have dared to approach his person without orders. Therefore, what next was done was by command. The commander that day was Sir John de Gifford (Builth). We can be sure the five officers were nearest the body. Troopers, some mounted and others dismounted, formed the ascending background. The prince was now dead. Sir John de Gifford, we are told, now called to him a trooper named Stephen de Seward (Polydor Vergil's account), and directed him to sever the prince's head from his body, as a trophy for King Edward of England. That was done. There is still a tradition in the locality, that one of the soldiers procured a bush of broom (*banadl*), and that the severed head was placed in it.¹ The long

¹ The author, meeting casually a local countryman on the road leading to the well, entered into conversation with him touching the death of Prince Llewelyn. The countryman replied to his questions with an air of great seriousness, and, speaking of that tragic event as a thing of recent date, said, “They brought

branches of a bush of broom would lend themselves to be tied at the top, so as to hide the ghastly trophy. It seems that the commander, Sir John de Gifford, then mounted, and with the bush fastened to his saddle bow, he made haste to the ruthless king at Hope, not Rhuddlan Castle, as is generally supposed. Before and after the fight on the Menai Straits, Queen Eleanor and family resided at Rhuddlan Castle, but when peril from the Conway was imminent, the Court retired to the safer Hope Castle. It was now the dead body was searched by the knights, and the royal seal and letter were found under the femoral part of one of the thighs. Had the royal seal been discovered before, it would have been taken away with the head to the king.

It is reported that King Edward received the poor head with transports of joy, and as soon as possible he made an exhibition of it in London, by placing it in a pillory in Cheapside; then he had it carried down Cheapside on the point of a spear, on its way to the Tower, where it was fixed on a spike over the Traitor's Gate, crowned with a diadem of ivy.

a bush of broom (*banadl*) and placed the head of Prince Llewelyn in it. Broom was cursed here from that time forth, for not a bit of it has ever since grown in this parish of Llanganten; but it grows still in the neighbouring parishes." It is suggestive that in every part of Wales, the shrub called Veronica is called *Llysiau Llewelyn* ("Llewelyn's shrubs").

CHAPTER LIII

LLEWELYN'S DEAD BODY

THE headless body of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, was treated worse than the carcase of a hound would have been treated. The savage enemy had now nothing to fear from him, for he, the Lion of Wales, was dead ! His remains lay by the roadside at the spot where they had been beheaded. Doubtless deeply sympathetic country folks, as soon as the soldiers had all left, assembled, but no one dared touch it, for it was under the ban of the Church, which, forsooth, had excommunicated him in life ; and the State was his enemy, but not the State of Wales ! Even the Countess of Salisbury, the cousin of the late Prince Llewelyn, dared not direct any one to touch it in order to give it any burial, without first obtaining the permission of the archbishop, then gone to Wigmore Castle, the guest of the Mortimers.¹

The general state of affairs is seen in the circumstance that Lady Longespee was at the time at Builth Castle with her husband, Sir John de Gifford, its governor, who had gone to Hope Castle, and although so near the royal remains of Llewelyn of Wales—headless—she dared not remove them from near the well by the roadside. And in Archbishop Peckham's most servile letter to the dangerous king, we see even he also dared not permit that interment in consecrated ground without first obtaining the sanction of the king. All this proves that the archbishop himself

¹ Lady Matilda Longespee was daughter to Sir Walter de Clifford, governor of the counties of Caermarthen and Cardigan. Her mother was Princess Margaret, a daughter of King Llewelyn the Great, therefore her mother was sister to Prince Gruffyth, killed at the Tower of London. She married, first, Earl William de Longespee, Salisbury ; secondly, she married John de Gifford, governor of Builth Castle.

was no better than a puppet in the hands of the dread king, who used even him for the crushing of Wales.

IN MOONLIGHT

But, one moonlight night, a reverent number of daring Welshmen stole stealthily to where the remains lay, and on a rustic bier carried the remains across fields away, and buried the body in a neighbouring field, and placed a stone in an upright position to mark the spot. For ages—indeed to the present day—the spot was and is only known by covert allusions. But the name “Llewelyn” in those allusions was and is never mentioned.

“Weepingly they spoke of the spirit then fled,
And did not o’er his cold ashes upbraid him.
Little he reck’d; let him sleep on,
Where Welshmen in tears then laid him.”

It is highly interesting to learn that the legal name of the landed estate there is Kilmerly, which is obviously a corruption of the name Kil-y-Marw, or the “Concealed Nook of the Dead.” Many years ago, an aged man of the neighbourhood repeated to the late Rev. Thomas Price, Cwmdy, Crickhowel, the following lines he had heard from his forefathers:—

“Yma mae E’ wedi ei gladdu,
Dan *fon* y Maen yn Ngwaun Eli.”

Translation.

“It is here *He* lies buried,
Under the stock of a stone in Eli Field.”

Mr. Price (Carnhuanawo) failed to find a field of that name in the place. The writer, more fortunate, assuming the style and tone of the farmers, asked one of the inhabitants in Welsh, “Where is Gwaun Eli?” In a moment came the answer, “Here it is,” at the same time pointing over the hedge, between the well and the Kilmerly

palace. Since then, Mr. Stanley M. Bleigh, the owner of most of the lands in the locality, wrote to inform the author that Gwaun Eli adjoins his estate there. Mr. and Mrs. Bleigh had previously manifested the liveliest interest in the traditions rife there touching the tragedy, and have erected an inscribed obelisk in memory of the Prince of Wales near the well.

Every student of the history of Wales, possessing the necessary advantage of being familiar with both the Welsh and English languages, finds that every local place name throughout the Principality is either descriptive of scenery, physical peculiarities, or refers in a monumental sense to some circumstance which came to pass there. In the couplet quoted above touching the burial place of Prince Llewelyn's headless body, the name of the field of interment is Gwaun "Eli," or "Eli's" Flat Field. The name "Eli" is the key to the secret signification of the name of the field. As a rule in Wales "Eli" is from Elwy, a river or brook name, descriptive of the character of the flow of the water of the stream, and it implies water travelling by its own weight, without the advantage of a dip in the contour of the land through which it flows. Eli's Field is here on high ground, and has no river near it. Therefore, this "Eli" does not refer to water at all. It is certain that the name is a corruption of "Ei-le," or "*His Place*," and is the covert allusion to the concealed grave of the excommunicated Llewelyn, Prince of Wales—

" Let it be so ;
His mode of death, his obscure burial . . .
No trophy, sword, or hatchment o'er his bones ;
No noble rite nor formal ostentation—but
A cry to be heard, as 'twere from heaven to earth."
—*Shakespeare's "Laertes."*

It will be observed in the foregoing that Llewelyn's *grave* has not his personal name associated with it in that locality. The words referring to Llewelyn, used instead of "Llewelyn," are :—

"The ridge of *the* grave."

"The secret place of *the* grave."

"*His* Place."

"Here is the field of *his* grave."

But touching the well where he breathed his last, there is no concealment of his name there; it has ever since the murder been called "Llewelyn's Well," and the space cutting through which the old road formerly ran, down to the "Bridge over Foam," has always borne the name "Llewelyn's Dell" (Cwm Llewelyn). The place of his interment could be only known to those very few daring countrymen of the locality, who, in defiance of grave dangers from State and Church, carried away the remains of the prince and interred it where no pealing anthem, no "Dead March" in "Saul," stirred the night breeze on that upland ridge of county Brecon. All that concealment and secrecy were due, lest it be dishonoured like his noble head, which had been hawked about Hope, Rhuddlan, London, and the Tower! or, as the limbs of Prince David were, the following year (1283), divided between the citizens of Bristol and York!

THE WHITE HEAD OF LLEWELYN Y LLYW OLAV,
DECEMBER 10, 1282

It is recorded by Rice Merrick in his *Morganæ* (1578), that Jasper, Duke of Pembroke, after escaping with his nephew, the young Duke of Richmond, from the battle of Mortimer's Cross (February 2, 1461), co. Hereford, reached Chepstow Castle. They were pursued by Sir Richard Vaughan, whose residence was near Canton (Miskin) Bridge, Cardiff, with a troop of horsemen. On approaching Chepstow Castle, they could see no one, but the wicket gate being open, Sir Richard passed within it, and instantly it was closed after him by some contrivance extending from the castle. Duke Jasper then appeared, and, calling to his retainers, who appear to have Sir Richard in their hands, cried out, "Off with his head!" "It is too white to be cut off," cried Sir Richard

Vaughan. The duke, referring to the beheading of his own father, Owen Tudor, on the battlefield just before, said fiercely, "My father's head was white too," and in a trice, the head of Sir Richard Vaughan was rolling in the dust.

It is recorded that at the battle of Waterloo, on a white-haired British officer being unhorsed by a Frenchman, the Briton, seeing the Frenchman, with uplifted sabre, going to strike his head, cried out in French, "Respect my white hairs." The gallant Frenchman, reminded of his own father in La Belle France, touched him not. The bard Gruffyth, son of the scarlet-robed judge, in his elegy to Llewelyn, speaking of "braint henaint," refers obviously to Prince Llewelyn's white hairs, for the words signify "the privilege of old age." In accordance with the fashion of the period and long afterwards, Prince Llewelyn probably wore his white hair long, and tied into a queue behind his head. The same bard, alluding to Llewelyn's head, says:—

"Bychan lesoedd fy nwyllaw,
 Bod Pen arnaf, heb Ben arnaw ;
 Pen pan las, ni bu gas Gymraw ;
 Pen pan las, oedd lesach peidiaw ;—
 Pen milwr, Pen moliant, Rhaglaw ;
 Pen Dragon, Pen Draig oedd arnaw ;
 Pen Llu oedd, dygn o fraw i'r byd—
 O, bod pawl haiarn drwyddaw !
 —Pen F' enaid, heb fanawg arnaw !"

Translation.

"I was deceived ; I am disappointed,
 That my own head is upon me
 While His head has been severed !
 There was no Welshman there to fiercely defend :—
 Ah, it would have been better to refrain !—
 The head of a warrior, the head of a lauded chief !
 A dragon's head, a head of terror was his !
 The head of an army which was the tenth terror of
 the world !—
 Alas, that an iron spike is through it now !
 My soul's head—woe's me, that his head is now
 coverless."

We have followed the sentiment rather than the strictly verbal version of the venerable original.

A MOST SACRED ENCLOSURE AT CEFN Y BEDD, BUILT—
ROYAL BLOOD AND A GARDEN

As mentioned before, the two high banks on the sides of the inlet roadway, on the left when approaching the spot from Builth, was the ancient roadway, leading on the left down through the wood to Pont-ar-Ewyn, otherwise Pont y Coed, on the eastern bank of which Llewelyn's heroic little escort made their last stand, and where they, eighteen in number, died. It is not probable that this bridge below the well, and across the Irvon River, served any other purpose than to be a way for the sparse inhabitants of the eastern side of the river to pass over, as does the present footbridge a quarter of a mile higher up the stream, to Llanynys Church, which is between the site of the old bridge and the present one.

Now, as we have seen, the Prince of Wales was beheaded after his death close to that well, called Ffynon Llewelyn, at the bottom of the short dip forming the present garden with the two ascending sides of the two flanks of the cutting close at hand beyond the well. Between the blood issuing from Llewelyn's riven side, made by the cruel spear of Adam de Francton, and the blood which flowed from the warm body at the decapitation, the place was deluged with the blood of royal Llewelyn, gushing all over the roadway there, now a garden. That gory environment of the well must have been regarded, not only by the simple peasantry of the district, but by all Wales, from Holyhead to Cardiff, and from St. David's to Llanandras and Offa's Dike, Radnorshire, as most sacred. The possibility of any one ever trampling upon that soil, which had absorbed the blood of royal Llewelyn, would engender a feeling of the utmost horror in the breast of every loyal Welshman and Welshwoman throughout Wales. To an imaginative population, such a possible act would be

viewed as the next thing to trampling upon the murdered beloved Llewelyn himself.

Prince Llewelyn was under the ban of the foreign Church—in the eyes of all Wales, a contemptible arrogance! But we see, by what the Welshmen themselves did with his remains, that they thought of a certain Man of Sorrows, and of another far-off garden, and of another betrayal! Thus they passed in thought beyond all the sects and all the Churches of the world to the earliest, the mother of them all.

The weeping entire nation quickly fenced around the bloodstained locality, and converted the whole place into a garden for violets, and fenced it in. The narrow road between the cutting, forming the two ascending banks, was fenced, and the road was discontinued for ever. Then a one-storied cottage was built, facing the highway from Builth, with its gable in the garden, to serve as an office for a watchman, to prevent any one from trampling on the royal blood of Llewelyn the Last! The well, the garden, and the small office building are there to this day.

When the author first visited the spot in 1875, two elderly maiden ladies occupied the office cottage, and he found them tendering the loan of a cup to each visitor that desired to drink out of the well, sunk in a little hollow, from which the last princely native King of Wales had drank out of in his last minutes on earth. The bridge across the Irvon, below in the valley, was never restored; but Mr. Stanley Bleigh, the owner of the estate, tells the author that the ancient abutments of the old bridge are still well defined. Flowers of all the hues of the rainbow are seen in the garden, in their season; and this reminds one of the words of the brother of Ophelia and suggest the paraphrase, "from the royal blood of Wales, violets grow" around the well of Llewelyn the Last. The spot is increasingly visited by visitors from Builth Wells, Llanwrtyd Wells, Llangammarch, and Llandrindod Wells.

It is manifest that the great many victories Llewelyn gained over his enemies and the extraordinary one on the

Menai Straits had roused all Wales into an intense sense of triumph and national exultation. But instantly things were miserably changed, and the reaction throughout all Wales was extremely painful, as we learn from fragments of the poetry, the national dirges penned on the sad occasion. Llewelyn's Poet Laureate, Gruffyth, the son of the scarlet-robed judge of Llewelyn's State Council, writes as follows :—

“Arglwydd a gollais, gallaf hirfraw ;
 Arglwydd teyrnblas, a las o law ;
 Arglwydd cywir Gwir—Gwrandaw arnaf !
 Uchel y cwynaf, o'r cwynaw !
 Arglwyd llwydd, cyn lladd y Deunaw.”

Translation.

“I have lost my Lord ; I am amazed ;
 The Lord of Palace Royal was suddenly slain ;
 O Lord on high, hearken to my grief !
 Loud is my cry, O the lamentations,
 He was Lord Triumphant till
 The eighteen were killed.”

—*Myv. Arch.*, vol. i. p. 396.

The bard concludes as follows :

“Royal Sovereign of Aberffraw !—
 May holy heaven be to him granted !”

In the above extracts from the elegy of one who knew Llewelyn and all the details of his closing hours we learn that Llewelyn's last command of soldiers was eighteen sons of valour from Eryri (Snowdonia), and that he had always been victorious. We also know that he had with him his private secretary, and by the fact a priest was there offering up prayers, we infer he was the said secretary who acted for Llewelyn in a double capacity. The monk-secretary survived Llewelyn, for it is on record he afterwards related some remarks made by Llewelyn during the conflict between his gallant escort and the horsemen stationed across the Irvon River. With a touch of exaggeration, due to being proud of his escort, the Prince remarked, “No soldiers in England could cross the river

in the face of his escort." The monk, who was one of the favourite order in Wales, namely, Grey Friars, was wearing his vestments while chanting the service of the Catholic Church over the dying. When alone with him he had seen his life was fast ebbing away from his earthly tabernacle.

Sir Roger tore the vestments off the Grey Friar's shoulders. In those days, a prayer by a priest had to be made in his official vestments; and here was a priest praying officially for poor excommunicated Llewelyn. The words of the archbishop are, Sir Roger de Mortimer unfrocked him.

Other particulars are preserved in the pages of Matthew of Westminster and Knyghton and others. We learn further from Bard Gruffyth, that all Wales was thrown into a condition of deepest mourning by the tragedy, and that all the inhabitants wept. His words are :—

" Llawer gweddw a waedd am danaw ;
 Llawer deygryn hy-lithra ar rudd ;
 Llawer meddwl trwm, yn ton-ruaw ;
 Llawer mab, heb Dad wedi ei adaw ;
 Llawer hen dref fraith, mewn anobaith."

Translation.

" Many who are husbandless, wail his loss :
 Many tears stream over cheeks for his death ;
 Many heavy souls utter groans, like the murmuring
 waves :
 Many a son, who regarded him as a Father, is now
 an orphan ;
 Many a grey old home is rendered hopeless ! "

His only daughter, little Princess Gwenllian Eleanor Llewelyn, was now both motherless and fatherless. She was only two years old, and, of course, at home at the royal palace at Aberconway, prattling Welsh, in the care of nurses. That palace was now open to King Edward and Queen Eleanor. Fancy pictures Queen Eleanor taking in her arms little Gwenllian, whose mother, Princess

of Wales, formerly, Lady Eleanor de Montfort, was King Edward's cousin, and once her guest at Windsor Castle. We find that, with their royal parents at Hope, Caergwrle, and Rhuddlan Castles, were their daughters, Lady Elizabeth and Lady Joan ; and in 1283, a year later, another princess was born to Queen Eleanor at Rhuddlan Castle.

We learn also by the four rolls already mentioned, that maids of honour were also there ; and we read of Queen Eleanor and her daughters visiting Aberconway. The queen was doubtless accompanied by her princely daughters and her maids of honour. The queen must have taken the little orphan, already prattling the Kimmric tongue of her departed father, and conveyed her away ; but, for State reasons, she was afterwards handed over to the care of nuns, at Sempringham Nunnery, Lincolnshire, where she received a new name instead of Gwenllian, namely, Lackland, or Landless. It is reported that in 1283 she was joined there by doubtless the youngest of Prince and Princess David ap Gruffyth's seven daughters.

The fate of the other six is unknown to history. Those two little princesses were doubtless playmates in years to follow. It is stated that Princess Gwenllian Lackland was later given in marriage to Malcolm, Earl of Fife, an ancestor of the present Duke of Fife (1911), the husband of the princess-royal, eldest daughter of the late Edward VII. and beautiful Queen Alexandra.

PRINCE DAVID AP GRUFFYTH

It will be recollected that when Llewelyn the Last departed south through the snowstorm to meet his whilom friends at Aberedwy, or Aber Rhyd Afon Gwy, he left his great army under the command of his brother, Prince David, above the Conway River. The king had retreated far back to Rhuddlan, &c. Llewelyn must have gone warily, lest his journey might be discovered. He had no suspicion that every facility for it had been made by the enemy that his journey might not be interrupted. The scouts of the king must have been carefully withdrawn

out of his way. When tidings of Llewelyn's tragic fate reached back to his recently exultant army, owing to the victory on the Menai Straits, the effect must have been paralysing. His army must have concluded that everything had now been lost. Prince David was with the army, but the army had neither love for nor confidence in him. All must have felt it was now the duty of each soldier of the army to seek his own safety, and it soon melted away piecemeal.

Prince David, with his wife, daughter of the Earl of Derby, and his daughters, one, Gladys, a baby in arms, seven daughters in all, and two sons. David, totally deserted, now endeavoured to re-assemble the army, and issued a proclamation urging the forces to meet him at Denbigh; but the call to arms fell on deaf ears, and no one came in response. He now took refuge in a wood below Bere Mountain. The wood was surrounded by a great bog, but there was a path leading to that part of the forest where David's tents were. This path was pointed out to the enemy by one Einion ab Evan, and there David and his family were captured and conveyed to Rhuddlan Castle where the king was. David was placed in chains. He begged an interview with the king, but it was sternly refused. David was next conveyed in chains to Shrewsbury, where on September 30, 1283, he was charged with high treason.

To act as his judges the king summoned one hundred Norman lords to try him as Baron Frodsham, Cheshire; nineteen Privy Councillors, two citizens from each principal town in England, and two knights from each county there. The king was exultant in the midst of horrors! But only about one-half summoned attended the State trial. The stern king himself presided in person, and he himself gave evidence against the prisoner. The king stated he had received the prisoner when he was a fugitive from Llewelyn, had succoured him when he was an orphan on the death of Prince Gruffyth, his father, by falling at the Tower. He had given him lands in England, and had created him Baron of Frodsham, Cheshire.

The State trial of Prince David took place in Shrewsbury Castle, close to the present railway station. As a matter of course, he was sentenced to die as a traitor, a lie in all its charges. The following sentence was pronounced upon him by John Vaux, Chief Justice of England, in the presence, it appears, of King Edward I., who was, during the trial, staying at Acton Burnel, near Shrewsbury: (1) To be drawn at the tails of horses to the place of execution, for being a traitor to the King; (2) to be hanged for having slain Tuck Trigald and others, at Hawarden Castle, Flintshire; (3) his heart and bowels to be burnt, because the murders were perpetrated on Palm Sunday; (4) his head to be cut off; (5) his body to be divided into four pieces, and sent for exhibition in four towns of England. It appears that the scaffold was erected on the summit of the elevated space in the centre of the town of Shrewsbury, near the Cross. The Prince's head was taken to the Tower of London, and placed there on a spear's point and exhibited over the Traitor's Gate, where was already the head of Prince Llewelyn the Last on a spear's point. It is stated by Warrington that Bristol and York contended for the right shoulder of Prince David. Thus came to an end the ancient sovereignty of Britain of the older race of kings. Members of the same royal family had opposed the armies of the Cæsars invading the sacred Isles of the Gentiles, as the British Isles are called in Genesis x., the Isles of the Gimirrai, as the Britons are called on the brick tablets of the kings of Nineveh and Babylon (vide *Records of the Past*).

The crimes of Edward I. in Wales against an ancient people, who sought only to defend their own country and its liberties, place him at the bar of history as a murderous brigand, who knew no pity nor appreciation of valour and manliness. The poet Gray calls him not only "ruthless king," but also "impious man." That so execrable an individual escaped personally condign punishment in this world, persuades one that there is another tribunal beyond the grave to deal with malefactors. Edward I. himself died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, near Carlisle, July 7, 1307, in

his march against valiant Scotland. He was succeeded by his unfortunate second son, Edward of Caernarvon (Edward II.). In his horrible fate one fancies one sees again through the mantling haze of centuries, that Hand, which, at Belshazzar's Babylonian royal banquet, wrote on the wall the doom of a dynasty and of Assyria! On the night of January 20, 1327, at Berkeley Castle, on the Severn, he was assassinated, after a table had been thrown upon him, by having a red-hot wire thrust up into his bowels. To this terrible assassination the poet Gray refers in the following words, which he imagines a Kimmerian Bard on the Conway chanted above the flood and the army of Edward I. :—

“ Mark the year, and mark the night,
When Severn shall re-echo with affright.
The shrieks of death, through Berkeley's roofs
that ring—
Shrieks of an agonising king !”

“ Weave the warp, and weave the woof—
The winding-sheet of Edward's race.” ¹

¹ See pp. 280, 416.

CHAPTER LIV

CAERNARVON TOWN

BIRTHPLACE OF EDWARD II.

THE following statements indicate the connection of Caernarvon with the family of the Emperor Constantius and the Empress Helena, of Colchester.

The author of the biography of King Gruffyth ap Cynan, which is seen in the *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, states that the more ancient name of Caernarvon was *Caer Cystenin*, and that Earl Lupus of Chester built a castle there. Nennius, in *circa* A.D. 858, refers to Caernarvon as *Caer Cystenit*. Why should it be called by that name at all, unless in some way it was associated with that Emperor of Rome and Britain?

Now, nothing is better known in history than that the Empress Helena, St. Helena of the Roman Catholic canonised saints, was intimately associated with Jerusalem, often collectively called Mount Zion. Then we have at Caernarvon a river named "*Ziont*." How came that name to be associated with the name of the imperial husband of St. Helena? We think it is conclusive that it is because the place was most interestingly associated with St. Helena herself, and that it is probable the empress thought she saw something in the mountains around Caernarvon reminding her of the mountains around Mount Zion, and that she named her royal palace there Mount Zion, and that "*Ziont*" is a slight mutilation of the original name she gave to it.

Further, a piece, or what was purported to be so, of the true cross was found upon Prince David, and therefore associated with the royal family there; it bore the highly significant name "*Croes ein Nych*," or *Nychdod*, meaning "*The Cross of our Woe*," transferred upon another.

We know that, in the early part of 1282, Queen Eleanor gave birth to a princess at Rhuddlan Castle; that she was expected to give birth to another child in the month of April 1284. Being so near comparatively to Caernarvon, where, according to the general belief then, the Emperor Constantine the Great was born to his parents, Constantius and Helena, what more natural than that Edward I. and Queen Eleanor should discuss together the desirability of having their next child—whether boy or girl—born at the same place where the great Christian emperor first saw the light. There was no other reason for Queen Eleanor to go there in the then terribly uncertain state of affairs in North Wales. Hope Castle or Rhuddlan Castle would have suited much better for the forthcoming accouchement of her Majesty. Everything points out that it was the most interesting associations of Caernarvon that was the motive in undertaking the perilous journey then up the Menai Straits. There were two places equally suitable there for the queen's accommodation, namely, the Abbey of Zions and the castle which Earl Lupus had built there during the exile of King Gruffyth Cynan. The present castle had not then even been begun, and it was not habitable until 1317, or ten years after the death of Edward I.

It is now certain that no part of the present Caernarvon Castle had been roofed over until 1316, or nine years after the death of Edward I., and twenty-five years after the death of Queen Eleanor, near Grantham, on November 28, 1291. This castle was not quite finished until 1322, having been thirty-eight years in the building, apparently on the site of the earlier castle of Earl Lupus. The builder of Caernarvon and Conway Castles was Henry Ellerton (*Archæological Journal*, vol. vii. p. 237).

The form Segontium given to "Zions" was clearly the Latin name by which the papal Church of Canterbury sought to obliterate the name "Zions" of the Empress Helena, because it had in it such an odour of sanctity, imparted to the place by the august Kimmerian lady, who, it was believed everywhere, had discovered under rubbish

near Mount Calvary the genuine cross upon which the Saviour had suffered.

BIRTH OF EDWARD OF CAERNARVON—THE STATUTE OF RHUDDLAN CASTLE

Which was the birthplace of Edward of Caernarvon? It is believed that Caergwrle¹ Castle, called also "Eleanor's Hope," received the first of the two names, and the only one still recognised by the natives, in allusion to the Roman XX. Legion, called the "Giant Legion," and after which Chester is named Caerlleon Gawr. This was the XX. Legion and called "The Victorious," and was deemed necessary to resist North Wales. It was stationed at Chester in A.D. 61, when Queen Boadicea was rushing across England for Anglesey, after Suetonius Paulinus had massacred the aged fugitives, the non-combatant Druids, mostly aged priests and women, on the Anglesey side of the Menai Straits. And that the XX. Legion was encamped near Hope Castle, or had its camp there, before Chester was taken by the Romans.

It was at Hope Castle Queen Eleanor resided most of the time of her sojourn in North Wales from 1281 to 1284. The castle came to be called "Eleanor's Hope," because she so long entertained there the hope that her ruthless husband might conquer the princes and inhabitants of North Wales, as well indeed as the rest of Wales. Her ardent feelings touching the matter is seen in the fact that, according to the Exchequer Rolls, she there made a present of £5 to Ralph de Vavasour, for bringing her the information that the "Dliivetolean" Castle had yielded to her husband. This must be Dolwythelan Castle, the birthplace of Llewelyn the Great, son of Edward of the High (Proud?) Nose.

That castle is now in ruins, but its remains are seen crowning a rocky steep on the Lledr River, under Moel-Siabod, seven miles south-west of Llanrwst, and has a post office under Conway. Of course, the hatred of

¹ Cawr Le, "Place of the Giant."

Edward I. for the bards was due to their patriotic songs. As long as they sang to Eleanor, or his daughters, or himself, it was a very different thing. We learn from the same records that on one occasion when Queen Eleanor went a churching after the birth to her of a little princess at Rhuddlan Castle, she made a present of £10 to certain minstrels who attended, doubtless with their small portable harps, at Rhuddlan church. The largeness of the donation was apparently to intimate that playing to the Court of Eleanor was more remunerative than playing about the rocky wilds of the Conway floods. The distance from Chester, the base of Edward's operations, to Hope Castle is six miles; from Hope to Rhuddlan twenty-six miles, and from the last-named to Caernarvon thirty-eight miles, and Rhuddlan lies inland between Chester and Caernarvon.

It seems, without explanation, most inexplicable as to why at this most exciting time, Edward I., as is alleged, sent his much-loved consort to far-off Caernarvon, in a cold season, for her forthcoming accouchement. He did *not* invite the chieftains of Wales, each with a safe conduct, to go to Caernarvon too, but did so to Rhuddlan to meet him and his Council, to consider conditions of peace. It is probable that Edward considered there would be no peril to Queen Eleanor at Caernarvon, because the principal Welsh lords would be at his mercy at Rhuddlan Castle. At least one of Queen Eleanor's many young princesses had been born at Rhuddlan Castle; why, then, this strong desire to have the next child born at Caernarvon? We think that we discover the reason in the statement already made.

Giraldus Cambrensis, writing in A.D. 1188, states that the Emperor Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, lies buried at Caernarvon, and repeats that, according to tradition, Constantine the Great was born there. It seems that both Edward and Eleanor, after due consideration, ambitiously desired that their next child might first see the light in the birthplace of Constantine the Great, and that Queen Eleanor herself

was prepared to take some risk to bring that about, and both hoping the next child would be a prince.

The ardent ambition of both parents to have their next child born there, goes a long way to support the traditions of Nennius and Giraldus Cambrensis, and of earlier reports. In that Caernarvon Abbey, perhaps in the very same chamber of the abbey in which the Emperor Constantine the Great was born, the first English Prince of Wales was born on April 25, 1284, namely, Edward of Caernarvon. King Llewelyn the Great (*d.* 1240) signed a charter in A.D. 1221 at Caernarvon for the Priory of Pen Mon, Anglesey, in which charter the name Caernarvon occurs for the first time.

QUEEN ELEANOR'S WARDROBE ROBES AT CAERNARVON

In the Exchequer Rolls already mentioned we discover a most interesting record touching the removal to and fro of Queen Eleanor's articles of attire between Rhuddlan and Caernarvon. It is well worthy of close scrutiny. In it we discover the entry is not touching the entire wardrobe, but of robes, implying a selection from her wardrobe at Hope and Rhuddlan. The following are the entries:—

“Paid for one cart with four horses to convey the Queen's baggage from Rhuddlan to Aberconway, 2s. Paid for a boat for the Queen's use, by Reginald Eikus, 14s. Paid for a chain and lock for the Queen's boat, by the hands of Randall Tolescamp, 8d. Paid for two carts, with three horses to each, hired to carry the baggage of the Maids of Honour, for four days, 6s.” The one cart with four horses went from Rhuddlan Castle to the mouth of the Conway River, to convey there the queen's personal attire.

The boat was the one hired to convey the queen herself from Rhuddlan down the Elwy River, past Rhyl and Llandudno, and thence up the Menai Straits to Caernarvon; hence the heavy charge of 14s. The two carts for conveying the baggage of the Maids of Honour must mean the domestic articles, designated as “baggage,”

deemed necessary in the temporary habitation of Queen Eleanor at Caernarvon, she being enceinte. The boat conveyed the queen herself from Rhuddlan all the way by water; whereas the robes and baggage were sent by land to the mouth of the Conway, there to be shipped for Caernarvon, both passing up along the Menai Straits.

We also have the cost of the return voyage from Caernarvon in the following entry:—

“Paid for the carriage of the wardrobe robes and baggage of the Queen from Caernarvon to Rhuddlan, 8s. 6d.”

One is not aware any one has before noticed these entries, nor those dealing with the bridge of boats—the Pont Ysgraffiau of the natives—in any former history of those days, so pregnant with enormous results to Wales, and, indeed, to the cessation of the arbitraments of war between Wales and England.

In those anxious days Edward must have often stood on the keep of Rhuddlan Castle and gazed northwards for some sign of news from Caernarvon. And one day he seems to have anxiously beheld a horseman coming at full gallop from the direction of Llanrwst on the Conway River. The envoy rider was Gruffyth Llwyd. The impatient king must have hurried down and gone himself to meet him, and to his indescribable joy Gruffyth told him the child was born and was a prince! “Go on your knees,” cried the King, and, on his obeying him, he knighted him by touching each shoulder, one after the other, and then said, “Arise, Sir Gruffyth Llwyd.” Sir Gruffyth was of Tre'r Garnedd, Anglesey. He received also much land for bringing the glad news from Caernarvon. Afterwards, in 1322, he rose against the tyranny of Sir Roger de Mortimer in North Wales, and was captured and imprisoned in Rhuddlan Castle, where he is supposed to have died. This was fifteen years after the death of Edward I., 1307.

All this time her energetic royal husband was busy with building the banqueting hall at Rhuddlan, still standing in the point between two roads, for the reception of the Welsh representatives coming, each with a safe conduct,

from all parts of Wales, to negotiate with him and his State Council conditions of peace between England and Wales. The queen appears to have returned a month later along the same sea route and up the Elwy River to Rhuddlan Castle. Doubtless the royal babe, Edward of Caernarvon, had been taken back to her at Caernarvon after he was presented to the representatives of Wales by his father in the great hall of Rhuddlan Castle, and that he now again was brought in the arms of his Welsh nurse in the boat with his royal mother. It appears as if the king had beforehand, with the assistance of Queen Eleanor, "because she knew," calculated the time of the approaching accouchement, so as to have the Welsh chiefs assembled at the same time it would take place.

Before that august council of Welsh and English chiefs, the king himself presiding, he promised the next Prince of Wales had never been in England—if we trace the time he and his consort had spent in Hope and Rhuddlan Castles, we will conclude that was literally true—so was the promise that he had never spoken English nor Norman-French. This must have puzzled all the chiefs, especially Sir Roger de Mortimer and Sir Rhys ap Meredith, both in the running for the station of being next Prince of Wales. Strange some one did not inquire, "Would he be able to speak Welsh?"

As soon as Sir Gruffyth brought the news of the birth, we learn that the king immediately proceeded to Caernarvon. It would be several weeks before Queen Eleanor herself would be able to leave Caernarvon, and the king was most impatient to introduce the next Prince of Wales to the assembled Welsh chiefs in the great hall of Rhuddlan Castle. In a few days the little Prince of Wales in the arms of handsome Mary Gruffyth of Presaddved, Anglesey, was among a bevy of maids of honour, with the king in front, going on board the royal barge on the Menai at Caernarvon, starting for the mouth of the Elwy River, and thence up to below Rhuddlan Castle. On the early morrow all the Welsh chiefs must have received at the banqueting hall up the road, where it is still, a royal com-

mand to go to the castle. There Mary came behind the king-father, carrying the royal babe.

After some introductory remarks, the king must have taken the royal child from the arms of Mary Gruffyth, wife of Gruffyth ap Iorwerth, otherwise Edward (Mary's husband), who must have performed his hereditary office of placing the diadem of Wales, surmounted by three plumes meeting on the forehead, on the child's head, and the king then must have cried, "Eich Din!" or, "Your Lofty One," for that is the real meaning of the expression. By the expression, "Your Lofty One," was anciently meant the three plumes (♣) because of Him whom they heraldically represented. It was the badge of delegated divine authority, as is the broad arrow still, but now mistakenly placed upside down.

EDWARD OF CAERNARVON'S WELSH NURSE—"MARY OF CAERNARVON," HER HOME PRESADDVED, ANGLESEY

There is a most interesting circumstance, but unnoticed by historians, touching the selection of a Welsh nurse by Edward I. for his second son, Edward of Caernarvon. The selection shows how busy the king was with the task of conciliating, after the death of Prince Llewelyn, the Welsh nation. At Presaddved, Anglesey, was a family descended from Hwva ap Cynddelw, who lived in the time of King Owen Gwynedd (*d.* 1169). He was, it is said, King Owen's steward. His office, held by inheritance, was to bear the king's coronet, and to put it on his head when the Bishop of Bangor anointed him (as Nicholas, Bishop of Bangor, affirmeth).

Rowlands, in his *Mona Antigua*, states that Hwva ap Cynddelw, of Presaddved, held his estate in fee by attending on the Prince of Wales at his coronation, and bearing up the right side of his canopy over the prince's head at that solemnity; and he cites the following extract from a MS. of one Lewis Dwn, in the Gloddaeth Library, Llandudno. We translate into English the said MS.:—"This Hwva and his heirs placed the crown upon the

head of the Prince (of Wales), assisting the Bishop of Bangor in doing so. To Hwva belonged the robes worn by the prince on that occasion. This was the function of Hwva." Now, in the time of Edward I. the office had descended in the Presaddved family in the following order:—Methusalem, Meredith, Iorwerth (Edward) ap Gruffyth. Mary, the nurse chosen, was the wife of the said Gruffyth; therefore, we conclude she was now a wet nurse. She was the mother of Sir Howel ap Gruffyth, commonly known as "Howel of the Horseshoes," on account of his great strength, it being said he was able to straighten a horseshoe with his bare hands. He was the foster-brother of Edward of Caernarvon, with whom he was a great favourite, and who made him a knight. It seems certain that Prince Edward's earliest years were spent at Presaddved, in charge of Mrs. Mary Gruffyth and Gruffyth, her husband, assisted no doubt by royal servants of both sexes.

In the Book of Household Expenses of Edward II.'s Privy Purse is the following interesting entry:—"Paid to Mary of Caernarvon, the King's nurse, who came all the way from Caernarvon to see him, 20s." The foregoing shows Edward I. selected as his second son's nurse the wife of one who inherited the office of placing the diadem of Wales on the head of the Prince of Wales of the native régime (*Cam. Reg.*, 1795, p. 145).

In the foregoing we see Edward I. engrafting his royal sprig upon the ancient royal tree of Wales, and for that purpose commandeering the Welsh official; for no doubt Gruffyth ap Edward (Iorwerth) performed now his hereditary office, by placing the diadem on the royal babe's head at Rhuddlan Castle, in the presence of the Welsh representatives and Edward's own Council in the great hall of Rhuddlan Castle, while the babe was in the arms of his father. All this proves that Edward of Caernarvon was at first intended to occupy the throne of all Wales; for from the first Edward I. intended, very wisely we think, to place all Wales under one Welsh prince in the room of the several small sovereignties which had proved

so mischievous to Wales itself in the past. But the death of Prince Alphonso, a few months later, made the Prince of Wales heir of England as well, so that really it was Wales which attached England, and not England Wales! These considerations must have caused Edward I. to smile grimly if he ever did smile. In those far-off days, Welsh must have been the familiar language of Presaddved, and a Prince of Wales unable to speak the language of his people was a thing not to be thought of for a moment. Therefore, we conclude that Prince Edward of Caernarvon was brought up to speak Kimmraeg, as all the Princes of Wales had always done.

"Llewellyn ap Hwlkin was a very famous gentleman, descended from Sir Howel. He left four sons to inherit his manors, viz., Meurig, from whom descend the Owens of Bodoen, Anglesey, and Orielton, Pembrokeshire; also the Owens of Bodsilin, of whom descend (1) Sir John Owen, of Glyn Cenneu; (2) Hugh ap Llewelyn (alias Hugh Lewis), from whom descend the Lewises of Presaddved; (3) Gruffyths, of whom come Gruffyths of Gawn; and (4) Rhys, from whom descend the Wynnes of Bodowy, &c. His arms are: Gules between three lions rampant, a chevron."

It is further stated in this account that there was, some time before 1795, a broken tomb in St. Peter's, Caermarthen, with the effigy of a man holding in his hands a horse-shoe, and it was supposed to be the tomb of Sir Howel y Pedolau. Presaddved signifies "Ripe Orchard." The document containing the above statements appears to be an ancient one published in the *Cambrian Register* in 1795.

At Rhuddlan, on the left of the highway, beyond the ancient entrance into the castle wards, is still a large building of three stories. It has always been known locally as the banqueting hall.¹ It is so different in every respect to the other buildings in the district, that one cannot but regard it as in some way an adjunct of

¹ Its English name is suggestive as to its origin.

old to the celebrated castle close at hand, now roofless and in ruins. That it is outside the castle precincts indicates, taking into our consideration it was associated with the castle once, that it was hurriedly built to accommodate a considerable number of people who were not prescribed in their movements by the castle authorities. The conclusion we came to on the spot was, that it was erected on purpose to lodge and dine the representatives of Wales, who were at Rhuddlan on April 19, 1284, in response to the summonses of Edward I. In front of the building, between two roads, is a long stretch of gardens and orchards, flanked on both sides by walls built with stones and mortar. The Parliament House likewise was outside the castle precincts, so that the chiefs were at liberty to agree with the king or disagree with him. The number of Welsh chieftains summoned was not, one would think, taking everything into consideration (each having a safe conduct), above a score. We see every reason to suppose it was from that ancient royal lodgings the Cambrian chiefs were by the king summoned to hear his momentous decision as to who should be the next Prince of Wales.

It is necessary to carefully observe dates to elucidate the circumstances. The Statute of Rhuddlan was signed on April 19th; the prince was not born until the 25th of that month; then it would take five days more for the king to go to Caernarvon, and then back with the baby prince. Thus we reach April 30th as the earliest possible date for the arrival of the king back with the royal child. Thus we see that the Welsh chiefs were at least a month at Rhuddlan, first discussing the treaty and arriving at a decision; then the accouchement at Caernarvon Abbey, and the going to and fro of the king. It was the luckiest thing in the world that the child was a boy. The king, while in suspense as to what would be the sex of the child, deliberately, and with consummate cunning, introduced a clause into the Statute of Rhuddlan abrogating the old law of Wales to the effect that a female was ineligible for the throne. The new clause placed females

on the same footing as men in that respect. But, strange to say—and it indicates Edward's special reason for the said clause—the law of Gavel, which, since Roderi the Great, had by degrees ruined Wales, giving lands to males only, and all sons of a father having equal rights, was left untouched by the Statute of Rhuddlan, 12 Edward I., 1284.

Had the Lords of the Marches and all Wales united against England—in the War of the Barons many Lords of Marches had fought under Prince Llewelyn—Edward would have had no chance whatever against the allies, for it was by humouring the said lords, the king giving them free hand to steal from the Welsh, he retained their support; yet the king experienced the utmost difficulty in contending with North Wales alone; and at last, in his most critical condition, he condescended to a vile trickery, ensnaring Llewelyn far away from his valiant army and killing him! No one but Llewelyn would have been able now to induce the North Welshians and their allies, recruits from all parts of Wales, to act together. Prince David had forfeited national confidence and esteem, and Llewelyn was no more.

INTERESTING EXTRACTS FROM THE STATUTE OF RHUDDLAN

(12 King Edward I., A.D. 1284)

THE WELSH LAW OF GAVEL KINDRED

“Whereas the custom is different in Wales to that in England, touching land inheritance—in Wales the inheritance is partable among heirs-male; and that custom has prevailed from time beyond the memory of man, and not the contrary as in England—

“Our Lord the King (Edward I.) will not have that custom abrogated. He will have it that the inheritance

shall be partable among the heirs as it was wont to be; and partition of the same inheritance as it was wont to be made with the following exception, viz. that bastards, from henceforth, shall not inherit: and also shall not have portions with the lawful heirs, nor without lawful heirs. And if it happen that any inheritance shall, upon the failure of male heirs, descend upon females the lawful heirs of their ancestors last seised, we will of our special grace, that the same women shall have their portions thereof to be assigned to them in our court, although this is contrary to the custom of Wales before used."

At the foot of the Statute of Rhuddlan is given as follows:—

"To witness whereof our Seal hath been affixed to these presents. Given at Rhuddlan on Sunday in Mid-Lent in the 12 Year of our reign" (Mid-Lent, 1284).

"Copied from two Rolls of the time of Edward I., preserved among the Records in the Treasury of the receipts of the Exchequer, Westminster House."

THE RIGHT OF SANCTUARY

It is known to those versed in ecclesiastical history, that if an offender against the laws succeeded in reaching the precincts of certain ecclesiastical edifices to which the right of sanctuary belonged, the civil law could not there reach him. These courts, called Sanctuaries, seemed to have been modelled after the example of the Cities of Refuge in Israel. Edward I., while recognising the Sanctuaries of Wales, laid down the following in the Statute of Rhuddlan touching them and any offender against the laws who had reached any one of those Sanctuaries within Wales. It will be seen by the following that he laid it down in the Statute of Rhuddlan that he reserved to himself the power to transport to beyond the realm, otherwise power to outlaw even any one who had entered a Sanctuary.

It appears that one in Sanctuary was to be tried in a civil court in his absence, and on being found guilty, a

seaport was named from which he was compelled to leave the realm.

The one in Sanctuary had to be taken to the church door by the good men of the commot where the Sanctuary was situate. Then he was given a cross to carry in his hands, and directed to the seaport assigned for him to depart from. He was not allowed to leave the highway during his journey between the church door and the seaport of departure. It is noteworthy that this enactment was first made by proclamation of Edward I. in 1283 before the capture of Prince David, Llewelyn the Last's heir to the throne. It appears, therefore, it was issued by the king to meet the case were it to happen that Prince David had been so fortunate as to reach say the Sanctuary of Aberdaron. It will be remembered he was captured in a wood.

Be it observed the Acts of Edward I. did not join Wales to the realm of England, but only to the crown of England.

RHYS AP MEREDITH

This chief of Dynevor Castle was, as stated already, descended from King Rhys ap Tewdwr (Tudor), his descent being as follows :—King Rhys, Prince Gruffyth, and Princess Gwenllian (daughter of King Gruffyth ap Cynan), Prince Rhys, Rhys Gryg, Meredith his son ; then this Prince Rhys ap Meredith. It seems that Rhys Meredith regarded his title to the throne of even North Wales as having precedence to the title of Llewelyn, and that was a factor in his opposition to Llewelyn, and by it, the ruin both of Llewelyn and himself.

Sir Roger de Mortimer, Wigmore Castle, Hereford, was, as stated before, the son of Princess Gladys the Brunette, daughter of Llewelyn the Great, who was also grandfather of Llewelyn the Last, by Princess Joan, daughter of King John, therefore sister to Henry III. The Welsh of those days were adepts in the pedigrees of their leaders, and at many firesides among the mountains they were dis-

cussed and counted by rule of thumb, even when the enemy was at the gate.

Edward I., suspecting it might be possible now for young Rhys Meredith to bring all Wales into line against England, deliberately proceeded to provoke him into revolt that he might have a pretext for destroying Rhys, whose family descent troubled him. He had simply used him to lessen Llewelyn's power. Rhys was the lineal heir to the throne of West Wales, and descending, through Princess Gwenllïan, from King Gruffyth ap Cynan, he was closely associated also with the throne of North Wales, which was invested with the overruling authority over the divisions of Wales, apart from cos. Glamorgan and Monmouth, but including the two Powyses, according to the unfortunate clause to that effect in the will of Rhodri the Great, the grandfather of Howel the Good.

Sir Roger de Mortimer was the father of Sir Edmund de Mortimer. Princess Gladys, Wigmore Castle, wife of Sir Ralph de Mortimer and daughter of King Llewelyn the Great, had been lured to Windsor Castle, where she was a semi-prisoner of State, so that Henry III. might have a watchful eye over her. She died at Windsor Castle in 1252, leaving her young son, Sir Roger, to represent her family. Llewelyn being the son of Gruffyth and Sir Roger being the son of Gladys, Llewelyn and Roger were first cousins; only that Gladys was the half-sister of Gruffyth; thus a strain of Norman blood was in Gladys through her mother, Queen Joan, the daughter of King John.

Rhys Meredith was the son of Meredith, the son of a daughter of Richard, Earl de Clare, the father of Earl Gilbert de Clare, now Lord-Paramount of Glamorgan and county Monmouth, called Morganwy in legal documents, and by the Welsh Gwent. Gilbert was also now Edward I.'s prospective son-in-law, having been betrothed in 1283 to Princess Joan d'Acre, who had been born at that place a few miles west of Nazareth, in Palestine. Earl Gilbert was the builder of Caerphilly Castle, having completed it on June 1, 1270. He had actually been Regent of Britain,

at least of England, from the death of Henry III. in 1272 till 1274, the time of Edward's return home from Palestine. With Simon de Montfort, Gilbert had been a leader of the Barons' War against Henry III. Those considerations made it necessary for Edward now to walk warily, for were Earl Gilbert, Rhys's uncle, to declare for young Rhys, Edward would find himself confronted by tremendous forces, which might hurl him from the throne of England. In the struggle with North Wales alone Edward had experienced one disaster after another. Rhys Gryg (Vychan) and Meredith, Rhys's father, were both dead, and Rhys was very young. His uncle, Earl Gilbert, who died in 1295 at Monmouth Castle, was only fifty-two at the time of his death.

Rhys retreated before the forces of the Earl of Cornwall leading the forces of England and the Marches of Wales, as his great-grandfather, Prince Rhys, had done before Henry II. up the mountain of Cevn-a-Rwystrodd. Earl Gilbert, at the head of Glamorgan, &c., had been ordered by Edward I. to co-operate against Rhys under the Earl of Cornwall, brother to King Edward; but Gilbert was annoyed because he had not received the chief command, and entertaining secret sympathy with Rhys, his nephew, he more than hesitated to join the Earl of Cornwall in county Caermarthen. Although Earl Gilbert was himself a man totally devoid of conscience, as his former actions prove, nature asserted itself at the callous attitude of the king towards Rhys, to whose services he was indebted for the ruin of Llewelyn, when victory all along the line appeared as if in his sight. One author states it was now the mines under Dinwelir Castle, below Cevn-a-Rwystrodd, fell upon the Earl of Cornwall's officers, killing them by burying them alive, and not under Prince Rhys, great-grandfather of Rhys Meredith. The lack of Gilbert's co-operation and the winter drawing nigh, decided the Earl of Cornwall to leave the country to Rhys.

The Earl of Cornwall sent a flag of truce to Rhys on the mountain, and the army of the Earl of Cornwall as

the result, now withdrew, and left the country. Rhys now descended the mountain, and laid siege to New-castle Emlyn. Edward, now fully enraged, issued a royal proclamation, offering a reward for the head of Rhys ap Meredith; and at the same time the Norman lords on the borders of Wales were ordered to advance against Rhys; and Sir Roger de Mortimer and his son, Sir Edmund de Mortimer, placed themselves under the command of Judge Payn de Tibtost, the judge of the feudal courts of West Wales, to whom Edward I. had wickedly given as a provocative the estates of Rhys ap Meredith.

Rhys now fled to his uncle, the Earl Gilbert de Clare, and by his contrivance Rhys fled to Ireland, where he was in exile three years. But in A.D. 1290 he returned to West Wales, and entered upon another rebellion; but the vast majority of his fellow-countrymen entertained no love for him, chiefly because of his infamous behaviour towards the late darling of all the natives, from one end of Wales to the other, viz. Llewelyn the Last. Rhys was captured and, as already said, was sent to York to the king, who, like a savage, ordered him to be executed for high treason, which was carried out to the letter in the barbarous fashion then in vogue (1292). The words which Shakespeare attributes to Henry IV. when addressing Exton, who had at his own suggestion murdered Richard II., seem to illustrate the feelings of Edward I. towards Rhys ap Meredith and the rest of the villainous crew that had murdered Llewelyn the Last:—

“*Bolingbroke* (to Exton): They love not poison that do poison need,
Nor do I thee; though I did wish him dead, I hate the murderer.”
—*Richard II.* (last scene).

It is stated by Holingshead and Knighton that four thousand of Rhys's army were killed in his last engagement with Tibtost and the said Lords Marchers—far too much sacrifice for such a man!

Earl Gilbert de Clare was born September 2, 1243, at Christchurch, Hampshire. He was, at her own request, divorced from Princess Alice Angoulême (a niece of

Henry III.) in A.D. 1283. As already stated, he afterwards, in A.D. 1291 (19 Edward I.), married Princess Joan, daughter of King Edward.

There had been before this a curious attempt at universal co-operation among the Welsh leaders; West Wales under Rhys Meredith, and Glamorgan under Morgan de Avan; and Madoc at Caernarvon, rose at the same time, indicating that at some Welsh conference of leaders an alliance between them had been agreed upon, to rouse all Wales to attempt to regain what had been lost by the death of Princes Llewelyn and David. It was, in fact, the last effort until under Owen Glyndwr in 1400 on the part of Welsh leaders to rekindle the war of independence, with either Madoc or Rhys as commander-in-chief. Earl Gilbert was, it appears, ill; he died in 1295. But Rhys could never bring all Wales into line because of his treatment of Llewelyn, and probably West Wales would not respond to the call of Prince Madoc, bastard son of Llewelyn.

There is one highly interesting feature in the affair: Glamorgan under Morgan de Avan—of Jestyn's descendants—rising in response to the general call to arms. Glamorgan had not done this before for centuries; and it will be remembered that, when the Normans in A.D. 1088 poured into Glamorgan, all the rest of Wales left it severely alone, to be the prey of the strangers. It was too late now, and Rhys, Morgan, and Madoc fell victims to Edward I., Rhys to death and Morgan and Madoc to perpetual captivity. Morgan de Avan was still alive in the Tower in 7 Edward II. (1314).

Touching Madoc, it is said that, just before his capture, the Earl of Warwick, learning of the presence of a strong body of Welshmen in a forest—it seems near Shrewsbury—marched at night and surrounded the wood. The Welsh received the charge of his cavalry on their spears and routed them. But the earl re-formed, and placing an archer between each pair of horses, defeated them and captured Madoc.

THE REVOLT OF LLEWELYN RHYS, ALIAS BREN, IN
GLAMORGAN (A.D. 1314-1317)

The hereditary Lord of Caiach Higher and Lower, East Glamorgan, bore the native title of Bren, or King, the Hundred being called Brenhinol, or Royal, why so named does not appear, but doubtless due to some ancient and forgotten territorial arrangement by native rulers (*Myv. Arch.*, vol. iii. p. 611).

At the time we are about to deal with, the native deputy lord of that district was known as Llewelyn Rhys, Bren. He was descended from Lord Ivor Bach Bren, whose principal residence was Castell Coch, situate on the eastern hillside of the Taff Valley, above Cardiff. Through Lady Nesta, the wife of Ivor Bach, he descended from Princess Nesta, daughter of King Jestyn, who married Lord Einion ap Collwyn of Cardigan. Llewelyn's father was Llewelyn the Deformed (Hagr.), eldest brother of Gruffyth, son of Ivor Bach, who had married Lady Mably, daughter of Lord William, son and heir of Earl Robert Fitzroy, son of Henry I. by Princess Nesta, daughter of King Rhys ap Tudor, Dinevor Castle, co. Caermarthen, beheaded at Pen Rhys, Rhondda Valley, in 1088 or 1089. The said Lord Gruffyth was one of the lords who, in 1175 or 1176, accompanied Prince Rhys, Dinevor Castle, to Gloucester, to a friendly interview with Henry II.

Lord William, son of Robert Fitzroy, lost Robert, his only son, in infancy, and when he himself died in 1183 he left three daughters, namely, Mably, Amice, and Isabel. Later Mably married Earl Evereux; Amice married Lord de Audley; Isabel married King John, but, being barren, she, under the pretext of being too nearly related, was divorced.

Earl Richard de Clare married Lady Amica—her second husband. Their children were Gilbert, Richard, and a daughter named Rose, who was married to Roger de Mowbray, and another married to Rhys Vychan or the Less, otherwise Rhys Gryg or the Hoarse, the youngest son of

Lord Rhys, Dinevor Castle, whom Henry II. created Lord Chief Justice of West Wales. The marriage was in A.D. 1219. In reference to the two Mablys—indeed three of that name, if we include Lady Mably Fitzhamon, wife of Earl Robert, half-brother to the Empress Matilda, daughter to Henry I.—it appears that Lady Mably, who married Gruffyth, son of Ivor Bach, died in the lifetime of her father, and that another child, born afterwards, received the same name as the deceased. There is proof that the Lady Mably, who married the Earl of Evereux, was very young when her father died in 1183.

We have deemed the foregoing important as well as interesting, as shedding a strong light on the station Lord Llewelyn Bren, son of Rhys, of Castell Coch, Taff Valley, occupied in Glamorgan in A.D. 1315. We see by the foregoing that Llewelyn Bren was connected with the De Clare family through the marriage of Gruffyth, brother of Llewelyn the Deformed, with a Mably, a sister of Lady Amica, mother of the first Gilbert de Clare, whose father was Earl Richard de Clare. The whole of the landed properties of Earl William, son of Earl Robert Fitzroy, first Earl of Gloucester, had reverted to Lady Amica, through failure of issue by her two sisters, Mably (second sister of that name), and Isabel, divorced from King John, who married twice afterwards.

The fact that Llewelyn Bren in A.D. 1314 occupied the supreme authority in Glamorgan, under Earl Gilbert de Clare as deputy lord-lieutenant, indicates that the old family relationship between his race or family with the house of the De Clares continued till then. In 1314, the younger Earl Gilbert de Clare was twenty-three years of age. Llewelyn Bren was advanced in years, which is supposed because he had six sons; some of them were very young. Those appear to have been Gruffyth and Evan. The others were Meirig, Roger, William, and Llewelyn. Their mother was Dame Lucy, a lady of a most energetic character, judging by what is stated of her, that she was the fomentor of the revolt by her husband.

Leland, who wrote *circa* 1540, states that Llewelyn

Bren resided near the Taff River in the parish of Eglwysilan. This place must be Castell Coch, near Taff's Well, above Cardiff, and called by the Normans Forcelettum. This castle belonged to his ancestor, Ivor Bach, and it appears to have continued from ancient times to be one of the principal residences of the family.

Gilbert de Clare first married Lady Alice de Angoulême. He died at Monmouth Castle on March 10, 1295, aged fifty-two. Gilbert, his son and heir, by Princess Joan, daughter of Edward I., had been born in 1291, therefore was then aged about four years. The little earl had four sisters: Isabel, his father's daughter by his first wife, Alice de Angoulême; and by his second wife, Princess Joan, he had Eleanor, Elizabeth, and Margaret. Their mother, called after the place of her birth, Joan of Acre (Palestine), was only twenty-three years of age at the time of her husband's death. The couple, though betrothed in 1283, did not begin to dwell together till May 2, 1290, and little Gilbert was their first child. It will thus be seen that the baby-boy's sisters were aged respectively two, three, and four in December 1295. It will be seen that the minority of little Gilbert lasted seventeen years after the death of his father. He attained twenty-one in 1312. Lady Isabel, half-sister of the four children, was amply provided for, and she was married to Maurice, Lord Berkeley.

Now, Llewelyn Bren first comes on the public scene in 1314. At that date we find him acting as deputy lord-lieutenant of Glamorgan under the young Earl Gilbert, whose trustee was Bohun, Earl of Hereford. Young Gilbert's grandfather was King Edward I., and therefore Llewelyn acted with the full consent of the king, Edward II., uncle to the young earl. Thus we see every reason to suppose Llewelyn had occupied the same high position of supreme importance since the time of the young earl's father, who died in 1295, and doubtless of Richard de Clare, his grandfather. Edward I. died in 1307, when his son, Edward of Caernarvon, otherwise Edward II., succeeded him, aged twenty-three. This royal uncle of the young Earl Gilbert had been king five

years when Gilbert, his nephew, attained his majority in 1312. The young Earl de Clare had in his veins the blood of William the Conqueror from Henry I., the royal Tudor blood from Lady Amice, daughter of Earl William, son of Robert Fitzroy, son of Henry I. by Princess Nesta, daughter of King Rhys Tudor, Dinevor Castle. Thus the De Clares viewed the natives of Wales with friendly eyes, and they them as being their kindred. In those days descent counted much, and in their reveries they must have contrasted their descent from a long line of Kings of Britain, together with their descent from William the Conqueror, son of a tanner's daughter of Normandy. So sensitive was William the Conqueror on the point that at a siege, on being reminded of it by the enemy, he cut up his prisoners into fragments and shot the pieces among his foes ! (Thierry).

We seem to perceive the influence of this pride in their Welsh ancestry in the selection by them of Llewelyn Bren, instead of a Glamorgan Norman, to be deputy Lord Paramount for Earl Gilbert de Clare. The selection was, besides, an excellent stroke of conciliatory policy in the intercourse with the natives, then extremely sensitive touching the presence and dominion of the Norman adventurers in their midst. We see plainly that the natives were highly pleased with Llewelyn's appointment. There were twelve petty lordships, and the same number of castles, in Glamorgan occupied by that number of Norman lords, and also auxiliary castles. Those Norman lords held their tenures under the Lord Paramount, Earl Gilbert de Clare, and he under the king; and each of the said lords had to sleep one night in the year in his room inside the precincts of Cardiff Castle. Omitting this would mean forfeiture of all the possessions of the offender in Glamorgan. Llewelyn, Earl Gilbert's deputy as Lord Paramount, had to attend at Cardiff Castle and also Leet Court in each petty lordship, to see that the feudal law under which the Normans lived was obeyed and dues paid to the letter.

Norman-French was the language of the Norman

lords and their families, but Kimmraeg was the tongue spoken at Castell Coch; and we learn that on Edward II. speaking severely to Llewelyn in London, he called him by the epithet, "Son of Death," or of Wales, from a Norman standpoint. How the Glamorgans in those days must have enjoyed beholding Llewelyn Bren lording it over the lords of the twelve castles! On the other hand, how annoyed the twelve Norman lords must have felt at the commanding position occupied by the Welshman, Llewelyn. They must have often, when journeying home to their respective castles, sworn in Norman-French that the humiliation that they endured was more than they could bear. But touch Llewelyn they dared not do, for ten thousand Glamorgan sabres would have flashed in the sunshine had they dared to declare against him. The Norman lords in England sympathised greatly with their friends in Glamorgan, for their Saxons were submissive; but so long as young Earl Gilbert de Clare lived no open rupture between the rival parties took place, but the murmurs of the Normans must have often buzzed around the throne of the young earl's uncle, Edward II.

In 1314 Edward II. declared war against Scotland. Glamorgan sent a powerful contingent to join the army to invade Scotland. It was under the command of young Earl Gilbert de Clare, and Lord Humphrey de Bohun, Brecon and Hereford, his guardian. The armies of England and Scotland, under King Robert Bruce, met at Bannockburn, and fought, and Scotland conquered. Young Earl Gilbert de Clare, with the impetuosity of youth, went too far in advance, and fell slain. Glamorgan and Gloucester thus lost their young lord. This was on July 24, 1314. The field was now open for the Glamorgan Normans to undermine Llewelyn Bren's high station at the head of Glamorgan public affairs. Llewelyn had, during the preceding seven years, acted as the king's gallant nephew Gilbert's deputy lord-lieutenant, but we do not know how long before the death of Edward I. in 1307 he had filled the office. Lady Eleanor, the same name as her illustrious grandmother, Eleanor of Castile, Elizabeth, and Margaret were now

between fifteen and twenty years of age. They, by the death of their brother, childless but married, were now great heiresses. Their uncle, Edward II., took the three into his care.

Lady Eleanor married Sir Hugh le Spenser the younger, who removed from his office Llewelyn Bren, but gave no reason for it. But what he next did reveals his motive, namely, please the Norman petty lords of Glamorgan and their creatures. Eleanor, married to Sir Hugh le Spenser, had inherited Glamorgan, and Spenser placed Lord Payne de Turberville, Coety Castle, in the room of Llewelyn Bren and his officers. We can see by what followed that all the natives of Glamorgan flew to arms, and in a few days Llewelyn was at the head of ten thousand Welshmen, fully armed for the fray. While De Turberville before this had recently ousted all of Llewelyn's Welsh officials, he now placed Caerphilly Castle, the centre around which were Llewelyn's own private estates, under William de Berkerolles, of East Orchard, Cowbridge, Glamorgan.

Glamorgan and co. Monmouth were in a ferment, and all Wales looked on. But Glamorgan had ever been the Meroz of all the rest of Wales, and there does not appear to have been now, more than there was at the time of the Norman invasion of Glamorgan under Robert Fitzhamon in A.D. 1088, any likelihood of any other part of Wales coming to the assistance of Glamorgan and Llewelyn Bren. This Edward II. and his friends must have well known, and made them more high-handed in their behaviour towards the Glamorgans. We learn that Lord Payne de Turberville dared not now leave his castle at Coety, Bridgend, which makes it evident that the other Norman lords dared but to peep through the portholes of their respective castle embrasures on Glamorgan's hills and dales. Llewelyn had committed acts of war at Caerphilly, and thirteen soldiers were killed. Norman wails reached Edward II. in London, and he commanded Llewelyn Bren to appear before him there. He obeyed the royal command.

Meanwhile the men of Glamorgan were preparing

swords and shields, and drilling themselves in archery, weapons handed down, like their long overcoats, as heir-looms from their valiant sires of the glens and mountains of Glamorgan. Edward II. conducted himself severely towards Llewelyn, and employed Billingsgate language towards the choice of Glamorgan. After all that, the impolitic Edward of Caernarvon ordered Llewelyn to attend the Parliament at Lincoln, to be held almost immediately, and there wait for his reply and that of the barons. The Latin Chronicle states that "the king swore and railed at him." Llewelyn knew that the Parliament at Lincoln,¹ composed of Normans, some doubtless from Glamorgan, having ventured out of their castles during Llewelyn's absence from Glamorgan, would deal very summarily with him. He must have, after the royal scolding he had endured, been surprised to find himself free outside the royal palace of Whitehall, and, like the Earl of Buckingham in reference to Richard III.'s threatening aspect towards him at the Tower, said, substituting Glamorgan for Buckingham's Brecknock :—

"And is it thus? Repays he my deep service
With such contempt? Served I his nephew for this?
O, let me think of Wales; and be gone
To Cardiff while my threatened head is on!"

Llewelyn wisely did not go to Lincoln, but hurried home to Castell Coch, Taff Valley. All Glamorgan soon knew what kind of reception he had experienced at the hands of Edward of Caernarvon. The entire male population of Glamorgan, able to bear arms, appear to have flocked to his assistance and protection: for we learn that ten thousand men hurried to him. He placed himself at their head, and marched to Caerphilly Castle. This was in 1316.

Sir William de Berkerolles at his first court at Caerphilly Castle, seated in the chair of ousted Bren, had with him on this occasion the Rev. William Talboth, rector of Westbury-on-Severn, and a boy-page. The place of the court was in the outward ward in Caerphilly Castle. According

¹ January 28, 1316.

to the feudal law, the judge did not observe strict verbal law, but gave judgment as he thought right, and a minister of religion had to say, "Amen," the expression of the approval of religion to the judgment. The Norman authorities had to go as far as Forest of Dean for a clergyman to say "Amen" to anything at Caerphilly on this occasion! There were ten thousand armed Welshmen at Caerphilly hovering about; and facing them near the castle were a great many Norman soldiers.

We see that Llewelyn anxiously begged his supporters to maintain the peace. But something happened, and the Welshmen attacked the soldiers, and, as already stated, killed thirteen of them. While this conflict was in progress, Llewelyn himself passed over and shielded Sir William, the Rev. William Talboth, and the little page in the castle, and closed the massive portcullis upon them, and then, shouting "Arosweh!" went to pacify his supporters. But they went on and sought those whom Llewelyn had placed for security inside. So angry and determined were the men of Glamorgan, that even Llewelyn was not permitted to furnish the prisoners with food and drink. After a couple of days, however, passion cooled, and Sir William and the little page-boy were taken to Castell Coch. It does not appear that the Rev. William Talboth ever reached home again, for soon after we find he was succeeded as rector of Westbury-on-Severn by the Rev. William Hodynet in 1317. The Welshmen rushed through Glamorgan, throwing down castles in all directions during six weeks.

Meanwhile the king had commanded Earl Humphrey de Bohun, who knew Llewelyn well, for it was under him Llewelyn had acted while Bohun was the trustee over young Earl Gilbert during his minority, which ended in 1312. The king also gave the like direction to Earl Henry of Lancaster (his cousin) and Sir Roger de Mortimer, to go and put down Llewelyn and the rising in Glamorgan (*Fædera*, ii. p. 283). They gathered all the Lords Marchers (names given), and, at the head of an overwhelming army, marched into Cardiff, and soon surrounded the mountain

where Llewelyn and his ten thousand men were stationed. This doubtless was Castell Coch mountain, where traces of the camp are still seen.

Llewelyn saw that resistance would be worse than useless ; and he sent a letter to the commander-in-chief, Earl Humphrey de Bohun, who had led the English charge at Bannockburn, offering to surrender conditionally, namely, a free pardon, including immunity from personal punishment in person or estate, this to include his own family and backers. The earl replied that he must surrender unconditionally. Llewelyn now gathered his army together before him, and addressed them, saying, among other things, "that he would go down to the enemy's camp unattended ; that it was he himself who had created the mischief, and that it was but just he should suffer alone." It was a most solemn moment. The chief, a man worthy of the royal name he bore, viz. Llewelyn, laid aside his armour, sword, and shield, and began the descent to the camp of Earl Humphrey de Bohun, who himself was descended from Lady Nesta Newmarch, Brecon ; and Lord Roger was descended from Princess Gladys, daughter of King Llewelyn the Great (*d.* 1240). All his soldiers and the gallant knights below the mountain must have observed his descent to the camp of the English army at, we believe, Tongwynlais. He was received most kindly by the knights who, it became known publicly five years later, intensely sympathised with him, for they all detested Sir Hugh le Spenser, and afterwards, aided by Llewelyn, the son of the present victim, hunted him to death, on November 16, 1326, at Efail Isaf, Llantwit Vardre. Llewelyn Bren was now conveyed to London, where he appeared before Edward II. Sir William de Berkerolles on bended knees pleaded before the king for mercy to him and obtained it.

It is evident that Sir William de Berkerolles had now resigned his office, and Sir Hugh le Spenser had appointed Sir William de Fleming, St. George's, near Cardiff, to act in his stead ; and that Llewelyn Bren had returned home to Castell Coch, which the king had restored to him,

together with his other properties. Now the miscreant De Spenser directed Sir William de Fleming to arrest Llewelyn afresh, notwithstanding the king's pardon, the king having also declared publicly that he had been unfairly harassed. He was taken by Sir William de Fleming to Cardiff Castle, and one day he was taken to a shed used for housing the harrow, near the back tower of the castle, opposite the present Angel Hotel, and hanged and quartered, and afterwards fragments of his body were hawked along the sites of the courts leet of the lordship of Glamorgan, in order to defy the Welsh people.

Dame Lucy was now being brought from London through Bristol under guards, together with her two or three sons. It is distinctly stated in the Latin record she was landed at night and endured execution like her late Llewelyn; the two or three sons were also hanged. Naturally the people of Glamorgan grew frantic at the atrocities, and the miserable Edward II. gave up Sir William de Fleming, the tool of De Spenser, to their vengeance. It is distinctly stated that Llewelyn Bren was buried in the Grey Friar's Church, North Road, Cardiff, and that Sir William de Fleming, hanged for hanging him, was buried by his side. Sir Rice Merrick, in 1578, states their tombs, that of Llewelyn of wood and that of Sir William of stone, were there then. We repeat, on November 16, 1326, King Edward II. was captured coming from Neath at Pant-y-brad,¹ on the highway from the Rhondda to Llantrisant, and was murdered at the castle of Berkeley; Lord Hugh de la Spenser, who broke away with Sir Simon de Reading, was captured in Coed Spencer, near Efail Isaf, Llantwit Vardre, and at Hereford they were both executed by orders of Lord Roger de Mortimer, who was one of those who received Llewelyn Bren from the mountain. Henry, Earl of Lancaster, another of the company receiving Llewelyn, captured the king, assisted by Lord William de la Zouch and the Rev. Rhys Powell, Talgarth, Breconshire, as guide.

¹ The author has placed an inscribed marble tablet in the front of a house here, opposite to which Edward II. was captured,

ELOQUENT TRIBUTE TO THE WELSH NATION BY AN
ENGLISHMAN

The Rev. William Warrington, one who had studied portions of the history of Wales, writes as follows :—"The fall of nations, distinguished only by misfortunes, or only illustrious for conquests, may raise for a moment a sigh of pity or the transient effusions of applause. But a people like the Welsh, satisfied with their mountains, who had been forced into a long and unequal contest in defence of their native rights, with few other resources than their valour and a fond attachment to their liberties, though falling in the ruins of their country, will have a claim on the esteem and excite the admiration of the world as long as manly sentiment and freedom shall remain. The death of Prince David closed the only sovereignty which remained of the ancient British empire, an empire which, through various changes of fortune, had opposed the arms of imperial Rome, and for more than 800 years resisted the utmost efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes at the head of the flower of their chivalry."

CHAPTER LV

THE GREAT MARCH OF OWEN GLYNDWR AND THE FRENCH ARMY INTO GLAMORGAN, A.D. 1405

PRINCE Owen Glyndwr's allies, the French army, sailed from Brest for West Wales in the latter part of June 1404. It consisted of 140 sail, and had on board 12,000—Mme. de Lussan states 12,000—infantry, 800 men-at-arms, and 1600 cross-bowmen. They disembarked at Milford Haven. In November they were before Pembroke Castle, where in November—"Pem. 14 die Novembris, Anno Regni reg. Henrici 4ti. post conquestum 7mo"—Francis a'Court of Pembroke Castle entered into a truce with Owen Glyndwr. It appears, therefore, that Glyndwr himself had then joined the French army personally, while his own army was quartered at Tenby.

We have an account of Glyndwr's own army of 10,000 men reaching Tenby, and he there joining it with the French. Then operations which took place at Haverfordwest and Aberystwyth, Caermarthen, are mentioned. Those operations prove that the allies went from place to place, backwards and forwards, operating against the forces of Henry IV. in West Wales. Judging from the said truce with the governor, Francis a'Court, and the other circumstances, it appears they had reduced all the royal garrisons in West Wales, and that then the allies marched eastwardly for Glamorgan. They were joined in Glamorgan by 8000 additional troops, so that on entering Glamorgan the allies numbered at least 30,000 fighting men. In March 1405, Glyndwr was engaged in dismantling a part of Caerphilly Castle. Thus we discover that between November 1404 and March 1405, Glyndwr and his ally had broken down all resistance from Milford Haven to Caerphilly.

Naturally the Glamorgan Norman lords were terrified at the overwhelming advance of Glyndwr and Marshal Jean de Rieux. Henry IV., at the head of an army of 37,000 men, marched westwardly through Cardiff along the highway towards Cowbridge, to meet and attempt to intercept Glyndwr and Marshal Rieux, and the king encamped on the heights of Stallington, since called Bryn Owen, just on the east of Cowbridge, Mid-Glamorgan.

Owen Glyndwr had taken with him a gentleman in the guise of an attendant, the two pretending to be master and servant, and had come into Glamorgan in advance of the allied armies. The two "travellers" called at the residence of Sir Laurence Berkerolles, East Orchard Castle, a short distance above the seaport of Aberthawen, below Cowbridge, and asked, no doubt in Norman-French, for lodgings for the night. Their French speech and gentlemanly bearing secured them what they solicited. It is evident that the object Glyndwr had in view in making this journey was ascertaining whether ships with troops from England had come across the Severn to that seaport, in order to oppose the allies. By this we infer the visit was before Glyndwr discovered that Henry IV. in person, at the head of a great army, was coming from the east *via* Cardiff to attempt to bar their farther progress, or that Glyndwr thus guarded, as he had done hitherto, against leaving an enemy in his rear.

Meanwhile a rumour had gone abroad among the Glamorgan Normans that Glyndwr, in some disguise, was actually in Glamorgan, and Berkerolles, and doubtless other Normans, had sent his retainers to catch him if they could. After entertaining his visitors most hospitably, Glyndwr, taking the hand of Berkerolles in his own, revealed his identity! No doubt the allied army was then somewhere approaching Cowbridge. Poor Berkerolles was thunderstruck, so much so, that he became paralysed, and could never speak again (Iolo MSS., p. 494).

The allies, with Glyndwr and Marshal Rieux at the head of their forces, passed through Cowbridge, and then

ascended the steep highway to the battle on Stallington. As already mentioned, it is on record that 8000 men of Glamorgan had joined Glyndwr, whose Glamorgan cavalry were under the command of General Cadwgan, Aberforchwy, now Treorky, Rhondda Valley.¹ The battle that ensued was most desperate and bloody, and while Cadwgan was leading a charge, Glyndwr cried out in stentorian tones, "Llyfna a dy Fwyall, Cadwgan!" ("Harrow them with thy battle-axe, Cadwgan!") That battle-cry has never been forgotten in Glamorgan to this day.

The two armies, in long lines, met in deadly conflict in a hollow or long ravine, running at right angles between them, and called Pant-y-Wenol, or the "Swallow's Hollow," and after an action lasting eighteen hours, the king was defeated, and he retreated back in great confusion, through Cardiff and Newport. It was then seen that the blood in Swallow Hollow was up to the fetter-locks of the horses (Iolo MSS., p. 493). We learn that Glyndwr then, as he had done in 1403, &c., demolished a great many other Glamorgan castles—there were forty of them—set Cardiff in a blaze, all except the road of the Grey Friars, now called Crockherb Town,² where was situate the great monastic kitchen for relieving the poor. On Speed's map of 1613, it is called Poor Man's Relief Street, but in that map it is placed a hundred yards too far west. He destroyed also the bishop's ancient palace of Llandaff, still in ruins, facing Llandaff Green. He slept at Cardiff Castle.

In all the accounts of this great inroad into Glamorgan, a period of two years is skipped over, during which Glyndwr resided mostly at Caerphilly Castle, parts of which he had left habitable. When and why the French took their departure, when near Worcester, is unknown. Perhaps

¹ A mountain a little east of Aberforchwy is still called Mynydd Cadwgan, "Cadwgan's Mountain." The family vault is within the old parish church chancel.

² Recently altered to Queen Street. The late Marquess of Bute remarked to the writer, "People will be asking, 'Which Queen?'"

it was supposed that Glyndwr was now master of the situation, or perhaps the French commanders concluded he and they were unequal to the conquest of England.

In March 1405 Countess Constance, widow of Lord Thomas le Spenser, carried away from Windsor Castle the young Earl of March, the legitimate heir to the throne of England, and his brother, both Henry IV.'s prisoners. She was aided by one Morgan, but they were overtaken at Gloucester while she was hurrying for Caerphilly to there join Owen Glyndwr. Had the young Earl of March reached Caerphilly all the Legitimists of England would doubtless have joined him and Glyndwr (*Sir H. Nicolas*, vol. i, pp. 223, 229, 235). It is clear that at Grosmont, Monmouthshire, and in many other places, the Welsh in unauthorised and unorganised detachments, in the absence of Glyndwr himself, attacked the royal forces elsewhere, and largely contributed to his later discomfiture.

It is not generally understood that Owen Glyndwr was not the originator of the revolt of Wales against the usurper Henry IV. in 1400, who had dethroned Richard II. It was the Welsh who had selected him to lead that revolt, when it had already burst forth, under one Gruffyth, who gave the leadership to Glyndwr. This is seen in the circumstance that when, on September 19, 1400, Henry IV. issued his proclamation touching the rebellion in Wales, no mention is made in it of Owen Glyndwr. But it appears certain that in the summer which had just ended, he had attacked Lord Reignald de Grey of Rhythin, because of personal injuries he had sustained at his hands in relation to his Croesau Common. Doubtless it was this determined foray that attracted the attention of the Welsh nation to Owen Glyndwr as the most suitable leader of the revolt already determined upon.

The foregoing brief sketch relates to a mere incident which has been mixed up with others in the careers of Owen Glyndwr and Henry IV. The history of that rebellion has yet to be written seriatim. The history of

Owen Glyndwr, by the Rev. Thomas Thomas (1822), although containing great many interesting matters, is a jumble. The name the Welsh gave to that revolt is Rhyvel Bar-Goed, or "Batons' War."¹ It ended with the death of the immortal hero on September 20, 1415, at the residence of one of his daughters — either Scudamor or Monington—according to tradition, at Monington, Herefordshire, where it is on record his remains are supposed to have been discovered about 1680, buried without a coffin under a sycamore, which had been planted upon the grave. In Welsh the tree is called Sicamor-wythen, or "Sicamor's Tree." There cannot be much doubt that that particular tree was planted on Glyndwr's grave as representing the name Scudamor. Perhaps the pretty conceit was suggested by his daughter, Mrs. Scudamor.

The history of the treaty of alliance between Charles VI. of France and Owen Glyndwr is as follows:—Envoys had been sent from Glyndwr to the King of France, who, being ill, was represented by the Duke of Orleans, and had returned home with the replies to Glyndwr. The last named then selected the following ambassadors on his behalf to the King of France: Gruffyth Young, LL.D., who was his chancellor; and John Hanmer of Hanmer, county Flint. He was apparently Glyndwr's wife's relative, doubtless her brother, for his wife was the daughter of Judge David Hanmer, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, appointed by Richard II., 1383, and knighted by him in 1387.

We have no account of the previous negotiations between the King of France and Glyndwr, but their credentials, signed by Owen Glyndwr, to act at the Court of France on his behalf have been preserved. Thus the credentials bear the character of State documents, which the ambassadors delivered to the proper authority in Paris on their arrival. Thus the documents have been preserved among the archives of the Court of Charles VI. The credentials were signed by Owen Glyndwr at Dolgellau,

¹ The name signifies that the weapons of the Welsh were mostly wooden batons or truncheons.

April 10, 1404. The same official records state that the credentials were received on July 14, 1404.

We thus discover that the interval of time which elapsed between the departure of the two Welsh envoys from Owen Glyndwr's presence at Dolgellau, and their appearance before Charles VI. in Paris was twenty-four days. The French Commissioners appointed to receive them and the treaty, which they must have conveyed to Charles VI. from Owen Glyndwr, were James Burbon, the Comte March, and John, Bishop of Carnot. The treaty was signed by both parties on July 14, 1404, at the house of Ferdinand de Corbey, Chancellor of France, in the presence of several bishops and persons of rank who attended as witnesses.

Now the Welsh envoys appear to have returned home in one of the ships from Brest conveying to Milford Haven the French expedition which had come to co-operate with the Prince de Galles, as Owen Glyndwr is designated in the document. Young and Hanmer, and no doubt French officers acting for Charles VI. in the matter of the treaty, proceeded on January 12, 1405, to Owen Glyndwr, then at Llanbadarn Castle (Glasgrug on the Rheidiol), near Aberystwyth, and he there ratified the treaty, already ratified by the Duke of Orleans on behalf of the King of France.

Now comes a difficulty. It would be ridiculous to suppose that a delay of eleven months took place between the attestations at the house of the Chancellor of France and the sailing of the French expedition for Milford Haven. The recorded date is, it sailed from Brest at the latter end of June. Surely this must be the latter end of July 1404, being as soon as feasible after the attestations at the house of the Chancellor of France. Such a vast armament approaching the shores of West Wales must have, in the then excitable state of both Wales and England, been viewed with much glee by the adherents of Glyndwr and with consternation in England. The treaty of alliance was in full force from the moment the document was signed and witnessed in France; and the

ratification by Glyndwr himself on January 12, 1405, did not make it a whit more binding upon the parties to it.

The French expedition did not take more than a week at the utmost, wind and weather permitting, to cross from Brest to Milford Haven. It is recorded the weather proved favourable. The document agreeing to a truce at Pembroke between Sir Francis a'Court and Glyndwr, bearing date November 14, must refer to the year 1404, and not to 1405. Rapin states that Mezarai, the French historian, distinctly states the French landed at Milford Haven on August 7, 1404; and that Lord Berkeley and Henry Pay attacked their fleet at Milford Haven with the ships of the Cinque Ports, captured fourteen and burnt fifteen of their ships. It appears that the date has been shifted by perplexed scribes to 1405, from a belief that the French Government timed their expedition to Wales, not merely to help Glyndwr, but to assist the Archbishop of York's rebellion, which broke out in 1405. Reinforcements came from France in 1405, consisting of thirty-eight sail, apparently in charge of Lord Hugueville. Eight laden with men and arms were captured, but thirty reached a port in Wales. Likely enough this second armament induced historians to regard both as one, and that one in 1405.

We have it that immediately the French had landed at Milford Haven in 1404 their fleet of transports was assailed from the sea, and twenty-seven of them rendered useless to them. Rapin states the number of the earlier French ships to come across was 140. What prevented them all from being rendered useless? It is obvious the remainder were successfully protected by the allies.

Owen Glyndwr now must have concluded Henry IV. would march from the east to meet the allies coming from the west. Glyndwr was not such a poor tactician as to leave intact such Norman strongholds as Pembroke, Haverfordwest, Caermarthen, Aberystwyth, and Tenby in his rear; and we find he and his allies spent from August 7, 1404, to January 12, 1405, in reducing all the castles in West Wales, the last being apparently that near

Aberystwyth, to helplessness. He and his ally now made for Glamorgan by slow marches. In 1405 we know Glyndwr was laying siege to Coety Castle, Glamorgan. In March of the same year, as already mentioned, he captured Caerphilly and all Monmouthshire castles.

This siege of Coety appears to be due to the same policy as actuated him in West Wales, viz. driving the enemy before him. It is on record that Henry IV. and Prince John tried in person to relieve it, but failed. This movement appears to have been a foray from his main army coming from the direction of Cardiff. Glyndwr and his ally marched to Stallington and defeated the enemy before he had reduced Coety Castle, for it still held out in October 1405.

John Dorney Harding, in his prize essay (1833) on the Glamorgan and Monmouth castles, quotes the following official record touching the anxiety in England respecting the siege of Coety Castle at this time. Several noblemen and bishops on the 8th of October 1405 offered to subscribe a loan for the relief of Coety Castle: "Pour le rescous du Sire de Coytiff à de son chastell assegez par les enemys rebels en Galles."—(Rot. Parl. in loco: Cobbet's *Parliamentary History*, i. p. 295).

Owen Glyndwr, elected by Wales Prince of Wales, held State Council at Machynllaeth and Dolgellau respectively. As already intimated, he lived in retirement towards the end of his career at the house of one or the other of his two daughters. There is a tradition in Herefordshire that a Wizard dwelt at the residence of one of his daughters, passing as "Shaun Kent," and that this rumour kept the curious away. It has long been supposed that the pretended Wizard was the hero of Wales himself. Henry V. made it known he would grant him pardon if he appeared. He, however, wisely remained concealed, and died Prince of Wales. He joined the majority on the eve of the Festival of St. Martin, 1415.

CHAPTER LVI

EDWARD I. AND THE STROLLING BARDS OF WALES— REMNANTS OF THE DRUIDIC PRIESTHOOD

“ On a Rock, whose haughty brow
Frowns o’er Conway’s foaming flood—
Robed in the sable garb of woe,
With haggard eyes the Poet stood—
Loose his beard, and hoary hair
Streamed like a meteor to the troubled air,
And with a master hand and prophet’s fire,
Struck the deep sorrows of his lyre.”—GRAY.

SIR JOHN WYNNE, Gwydir Castle, Vale of Conway, makes the following statement, writing about A.D. 1553:—
“Edward I. caused the bards (Welsh) of Wales to be hanged by martial law, as stirrers of the people to sedition. The king’s example was followed by the governors of Wales, until the time of Henry IV. It was the utter destruction (at that time) of that sort of men.”

Sir John, a descendant of the royal family of North Wales, writing three and a half centuries ago, is most likely to be correct in his statement. A man of his probity and soberness of mind, and prominence in Wales at the time he wrote, is not likely to have invented a lie touching Edward I.’s attitude towards the bards and minstrels of Wales. Some critics, bent on whitewashing the blood-stains on the character of Edward I., so as to leave nothing but his perfections in view, assume Sir John invented the story, and they base their assumption upon the fact that some of the bardic effusions of the period have come down to our time.

Now, Sir John Wynne mentions two periods of time when the bards were massacred, leaving out the massacre by order of Suetonius Paulinus by the XIV. Legion, on

the Menai in A.D. 60, when Druids and bards—then priests of religion—were massacred : the times of Edward I. and that of Henry IV. ; at any rate when by proclamations Henry IV. outlawed them. That implies that bards were excluded from the protection of the laws and dealt with as felons and vagabonds, and left to be hunted as wild beasts and dangerous animals.

Edward I. issued the following proclamation, having the effect of an Act of Parliament :—"That the Westwyr (guests), bards, rhymers, and other idlers, strollers (Vagarii), who live upon the gifts, called Cymmorthas, be not supported or sanctioned in the country, lest by their invectives and lies they lead the people (Welsh) to mischief, and burden the common people by their impositions." Why was Edward I. so sensitive touching the "Invectives" of the bards, rhymers, or guests (Westwyr), and the hospitalities of the common people in Wales, to those classes by the Welsh people at large ? At that time Edward I. was at enmity with all the Welsh people, and was by no means concerned touching the economies and the morals of the people of Wales.

It is palpable that his royal proclamation was directed solely against the Vagarii, or strolling bards of Wales, whose songs were peans of liberty. As long as Bard Gruffyth, the son of the scarlet-robed judge, of Llewelyn the Last's council of state, and his bardic friends, penned poems in their own houses *sub rosa*, they might do so because undetected ; but if they went about the country carrying their little portable harps on their backs, and occasionally unslung them, and sang with them the music of their country to the gathered multitudes of the sons of freedom, and "Invected" Edward I., his royal proclamation stigmatised them as felons or outlaws. His ruthless officers must have often bounded among such gatherings in lonely glens of wild Wales !

Cowled monks, Norman spies in the interest of Edward I. and his entourage, were equally busy in the holy name of religion ; busy in all the villages of Wales were Vagarii, but no royal proclamation was issued by Edward I. against them ; but not being guilty of uttering

"Invectives" against Edward I., they were not dealt with as felons and wild beasts by royal proclamation.

In Statute 4 Henry IV. (1405), we find the proclamation of Edward I. incorporated into an Act of Parliament:—"To eschew many diseases"—a fresh name for the "invectives" of the proclamation—"and mischiefs, which have happened before this time"—an allusion to the time of Edward I.—"in the land of Wales by many Westwyr, rhymers, minstrels, and other strollers in any way, it is ordered and established, that no Westwyr, rhymer, or stroller, be in any way supported in the land of Wales, to make Cymmorthas (gatherings) upon the people there." It is clear that Cymmorthas and gatherings include what the Welsh themselves called, and do so still, *Eisteddvodau*; but the Normans beat shy of that name as being a kind of cabalistic mystery, which they could not use.

There are two names in the foregoing which, for Englishmen, need explanation. (1) *Cymmorthau*.—Wales being a country indented with long green valleys, farmers crossed over the hills to help each other in turn at sheep gatherings on and from the mountains, and sheep-washings and shearings in the valleys. Welsh sheep were on the mountains shy and difficult to herd, which continued until the introduction of collies into Wales in the eighteenth century. They assembled to assist one another also at hay and corn harvests. Those gatherings were called *Cymmorthau*, and one would be called *Cymmorth*, literally "helps" or "help." It seems that in times of struggle with the lords marchers and invasions from England, those gatherings were used to cover the stealthy purpose of organising sudden forays into the camps of the enemy. A place of rendezvous would be agreed upon, and then all would travel over mountains and glens and through forests unto the place agreed upon at the *Cymmorth*, and then would dash together from the forests and the heights upon the foe. Then after delivering their onset, they would nimbly recross the hills to other places with the like results. In many a solitary glen afterwards the roll call was made to see who had fallen in the forays.

(2) *Westwyr*.—This correctly is Gwestwyr, or “guests,” or “visitors.” It was used in the same sense as the English would use the expression, “festal people.” Arwest was a name used for a concert or any vocal and instrumental assembly of visitors: “Marw Nest, mae F’ Arwest yn Vor.” (“The death of Nest made my song tearful”). At those gatherings, the bards would be the leading spirits, hence the Norman antipathy to the Westwyr and the Arwest.

Now, we have an additional meaning to Gwestwyr, or guests, at Welsh homes of the higher order. Those were herald bards, who travelled in defined circuits, to register births, marriages, and death, every three years. As each claimant to inherit lands in Wales had to prove his descent from nine generations of Welsh ancestors, the family pedigrees were really the title-deeds to landed estates, therefore most important to be watched over with the utmost care and registered correctly. Therefore, because of their duties as national heralds, the Westwyr performed most important duties to landed families. It has often struck English scholars in Wales in tracing family descents, that the stocks, or *bonedd*, from which the family branches radiate, are comparatively so few. The secret is, it was only families having land who were thus carefully registered: the landless could take care of their own pedigrees if they pleased, but theirs were not title-deeds. Those herald bards were also the family schoolmasters, and were retained as such when not engaged on heraldic circuits.

It seems that the present triennial visitations of the bishops perambulating through their respective dioceses originated with the Cambro-British herald bards. It is highly suggestive that the wandering minstrel was called Cler (Kler), and his perambulation, Clera, in the sense the word “clergying” would be now understood. After the Christian clergy had attained supremacy, and absorbed all the ancient fees, which formerly were awarded to the itinerant Kler, or bards, the latter became dependent upon the charity of families, so that in course of ages, the bardic clergying, or Clera, became synonymous with alms-seekers, or beggars. The feud between them and the wandering

monks was violent, and were we able to roll up the curtain hiding from us past ages, we would see the Klerbards of Wales—and monks on travel, on the rampage towards each other among the mountains.

Says one Klerwr of monks :—

“ Little glass images one sells ;
 Another out of alder wood
 A naked relic carves ; one hides
 A grey St. Curig 'neath his cloak ;
 Another bears St. Seiriol
 With cheeses nine, beneath his arm ;
 Or, by demonstration at length proves
 The Unity in Trinity, and gets
 A load of wool or a bag of meal.”

Then Bard John of Kentchurch says fiercely :—

“ I'll take no communion from hateful monks,
 All in their gowns and girdles ;—
 May God Himself grant communion to me.”

Queen Elizabeth, on October 23, 1567, issued a royal proclamation from Chester, ordering a National Eisteddvod to be holden at Caerwys the year following. This proclamation, and the silver harp won at that Eisteddvod in 1568, are now at Mostyn Hall, Flintshire, in the possession of the present Lord Mostyn, a strong and valued supporter of the present National Eisteddvod of Wales. It is found that Good Queen Bess, or her advisers, repeats in the proclamation the libels which Edward I. and Henry IV. applied to the itinerant bards of Wales, who were evidently leaders of the patriots, and, for that reason, were outlawed by both of the above-named Kings of England.

The following story is rife in Wales. After the royal prohibition of the Eisteddvod and condemnation of the wandering bards by Henry IV. in 1405, those bards used to sing with their harps in dangerous localities in the English language. About 1450 there was a grand gathering of gentry at Dinevor Castle, the home of Sir Gruffyth ap Nicholas, grandfather of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, whom the

Duke of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., always called "My Father." One of the Welsh wandering minstrels, called by the law Vagarii, came during a great family party to the gates of Dinevor Castle, and after he had unslung his little harp, he began to play an ancient lay of Wales, accompanying it with his quavering but still melodious voice. But the distinguished company of Welsh knights and ladies heard but English words issuing from his mouth. Custom had familiarised all with the fact that singing Welsh verses by Westwyr was high treason against the dominant state of England. The blood of Gruffyth ap Rhys and Princess Gwenllïan in their veins could brook it no longer, and Sir Gruffyth went out to the poor bard, and called out, "Out with Kimmraeg, aged father?" The old bard raised his head and smiled, and instantly the royal proclamation of Edward I. and the Act of Henry IV. were cast to the winds in front of the castle of ancient kings and queens, through gateways they had passed in and out of in days of yore. The bard was soon placed "high in hall a welcome 'Westwr," and soon sent forth music and words that enthralled all present.

"What strains of elegance beneath the sky,
Can with the Cambrian Muse presume to vie?"

The late Archdeacon Williams, Cardigan, was in his youth a tutor to Sir Walter Scott's eldest son, and relating the above touching story to Sir Walter, the Wizard of the North used it in his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*:—

"The way was long, the wind was cold,
The minstrel was infirm and old;
His withered cheeks and tresses grey
Seemed to have known a better day."

CHAPTER LVII

THE STATE MURDER OF SIR RHYS AP GRUFFYTH FITZ URIEN BY HENRY VIII., A.D. 1532

THE before-mentioned Sir Gruffyth ap Nicholas, Dinevor Castle, Llandeilo Fawr, was grandfather to Sir Rhys ap Thomas, the hero of Bosworth Field, fought on August 22, 1485. In a MS. of the time of James the First, printed in the *Cambrian Register* in 1795, it is stated that when, at that battle, Richard III. was galloping in the utmost fury—with his staff of course—towards the Duke of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., having killed with a blow of his battle-axe, Sir William Brandon, the standard-bearer of Wales, he was cutting his way towards the young Duke of Richmond, through, it appears, the latter's personal escort around him, Sir Rhys ap Thomas diverted Richard III.'s attention to himself, and charging on the back of a charger, named Bacsau Llwyd, or in English "Grey Fetterlocks," he engaged the furious usurper in hand-to-hand fight, and struck him dead. The close contest between the two escorts was on when Stanley joined that of Richmond.

It seems there was a terrific struggle afterwards, still on horseback, between the two escorts, those of the Duke and Richard, for the person of Richard: for after it was over and those who fell were lying on the grass, the dead body of Richard was found without a shred of clothing covering him, and bleeding, and his diadem on top of a bush. Sir Rhys ap Thomas's father was Sir Thomas ap Gruffyth, and he was the father of Sir Gruffyth ap Thomas, who was the father of another Sir Gruffyth ap Thomas. The last-named was the father of Sir Rhys ap Gruffyth Fitz Urien, who fell, in A.D. 1532, under the displeasure of Henry VIII., and was executed as an alleged traitor, most

scandalously, by that outrageous tyrant Henry VIII. He was only twenty-three years of age when he met his doom on the scaffold, on, it appears, Tower Hill.

The allegation against him was, that he had added to his name the surname of Fitz Urien, or the son of Urien, for the purpose of laying claim to the principality of Wales. Urien, the name which had taken the fancy of the young knight of Dynevor, was that of one of the knights of Arthur's Round Table (the Gorsedd). The fanciful story goes on to state that Urien was Sir Rheged, King of Gower in Wales, Prince of Murriff in Scotland, and Lord of Kédwely Castle.

King Henry VIII.'s elder brother, who, had he lived, would have preceded him after Henry VII. on the throne of Britain, was Prince Arthur Tudor, and it appears that young Sir Rhys ap Gruffyth Fitz Urien, assuming the appellation "Fitz," or son of Urien aforesaid, Henry VIII. assumed that the young knight in a subtle manner asserted his association with King Arthur of Romance and Prince Arthur, his deceased brother.

The charge against him is given in Latin, and is as follows :—"Quod praefatus Ricæus ap Gruffyth Fitz Urien, in se praeditorie assumpsit hac intentione videat, quod in se Statum et Honorem Dictae Princippalitatis Wallae. Dignus sub pretensio tituli colore praeditore obtinere poterat et hebare" (Mich. 23, Henry VIII., Rot. 6, inter placita Regis) — "that he had unwarrantably assumed the surname 'Fitz Urien,' with the intention of being able to obtain and hold the state and honour of the principality of Wales more worthily under the colour of that pretentious title." "How," continues the author of the biography of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, "this name (Fitz Urien), more than Fitz Herbert, Fitz Hamon, or the like, could give him (Rhys ap Gruffyth Fitz Urien) any colourable title to the Principality of Wales, let the world judge."

The same author states that Sir Rhys ap Thomas, the youth's grandfather, had only been dead four or five years before this event. And he further states, the young knight's family lost at the same time by forfeiture, £1200

or £1500 a year old rents of assize, and £30,000 in jewels and plate. The anonymous author is supposed to have been a member of the same illustrious family. Doubtless there was something of the old regal race of West Wales in the youth's mien and carriage, which annoyed the hogshead-like Henry VIII. Perhaps also he had heard the old rhyme—

“ Y Brenhin bia'r Ynys,
Ond Sy'o ran i Rhys.”

Translation.—The Isle is the King's, except Rhys's share.”

Sir Rice Thomas Fitz Urien was executed in A.D. 1532. The Welsh still refer to the devil as “Old Harry” (the name, too, of Henry VIII.).

CHAPTER LVIII

THE MARCHES DIVIDED INTO NEW COUNTIES

BY 34 and 35 Henry VIII. it is enacted as follows :—
“Wales shall be divided into twelve counties, whereof eight were ancient counties. Those are Glamorgan, Caermarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Flint, Caernarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth. Also four more were made by 27 Henry VIII., namely, Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh, *besides the county of Monmouth.*” That clearly implies twelve counties in addition to county Monmouth.
“And divers lordships (marches) are united to the counties of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester. The town of Haverfordwest shall be a county by itself, whose justice shall be the justice of the county of Pembroke, and the judicial seal of Pembroke shall be also used there. No land in Wales shall be Gavel-Kindred, but descendable according to Common Law of Primogeniture.”

Then follows enactments touching the language in which the law was to be administered in all Wales, viz., in English only. We heard the late Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., stating, that on the late Mr. William Ewart Gladstone, then Prime Minister, pointing out to him the disgraceful conduct of Russia in excluding from the law courts and schools of Poland the Polish language, the Prime Minister was astounded on Mr. H. Richard pointing out to him that the very same kind of law had been put in force by England in Wales during the preceding three centuries. Like the prisoner in the cell of the Bastile, who had been so accustomed to his chain, the mice, and spiders of his cell, on being liberated, he chose to return to them, Wales by long disusage had forgotten its native rights.

It will be noticed that in the statutes are given to county Monmouth and Haverfordwest respectively, separate positions in respect to Wales. It appears as if the framers of the statutes contemplated giving to each an isolated position, apart from all the others. Was it contemplated then to make Caerleon-on-Usk the capital of Monmouth, as Haverfordwest was made the capital of the Fleming settlement in that part? The existence there of an alien race undoubtedly was the reason for placing Haverfordwest outside the thirteen counties of Wales, while, at the same time, it formed an integral part of the territory of Wales. The statute does not state that county Monmouth was a part of England, but after enumerating the twelve counties of Wales, mentions county Monmouth as included *with them* by the expression "as well as" they.¹ It was a superstitious age, and it appears as if the framers regarded as uncanny the number thirteen—it represented Arthur of Caerleon-on-Usk—and, in consequence, superstitiously dreaded creating Wales a kingdom of thirteen counties; and, in their dilemma, they left county Monmouth to take care of itself. The continued exceptional status of county Monmouth in its relation to Wales, is seen in the fact that, when Wales was divided into North Wales and South Wales circuits, county Monmouth was not included with either of them, but in the Oxford circuit.

It appears that when, in 1536, the Act came into operation, the peculiar position it gave to Haverfordwest produced amusement, and it came to be called "Little England beyond Wales." The warlike Welsh, who were able to send one King of England after the other flying back over Offa's Dike, had tolerated handfuls of Flemings in their very midst, in the district of Haverfordwest. They were brought there from Flanders by Henry I. and Henry II., who established English schools there to teach them Eng-

¹ Glamorgan and co. Monmouth had always been regarded as joined together, and the kings of the one petty kingdom, extending from the Tawe on the west to the Wye on the east, were always crowned at Caerleon-on-Usk. The ancient jointure is still preserved in the Welsh definition of both as "*Gwent and Morganwg.*"

lish; and, although surrounded by the Welsh natives, they, gradually forgetting the language of Flanders, became English men and women and not Welsh. The reason why the Welsh did not molest them was, they were skilled weavers, tailors, dressmakers, who could convert the wool of the Welsh natives into all sorts of charming apparels for the farmers their wives and daughters. But while appreciating their skill, the natives would no more think of treating them as their equals than they would Niggers and Hottentots.

In one of the *Bruts* it is stated that Lord Owen ap Cadwgan, accompanied by young Lord Robert Fitzroy, was in a wood near Caermarthen with a force of soldiers. They knew they were being approached by an opposing force, and Owen went out himself to observe the opponents. He returned, apparently laughing, and said to his followers, "They are only Flemings." They were under the command of Lord Gerald de Windsor, who had an old quarrel with Owen, and observing the last-named, he sent whirring an arrow from his own bow, which killed Owen on the spot. In addition to the above crafts, the Flemings were extremely useful as gardeners and fruit-growers. The Welsh had been so many centuries under arms, that they seem to have almost forgotten everything else. It appears it was the Flemings who introduced the sugar-loaf hat into Pembroke, Caermarthen, and Cardigan. It appears that before the ugly tall hat, the headgear of the pretty Gwenies, Marias, Shoneds, &c., was a kind of turban. In 1188 Giraldus Cambrensis, of Brecon, states as follows: "The women, after the manner of the Parthians, cover their heads with a large white veil folded together in the form of a crown" (*Description of Wales*, chap. xi.).

Clause XXXII.—"None that use the Welsh language shall have, or enjoy, any office or fees in any of the king's dominions but shall forfeit them unless he uses the English language." The wonder is, Wales did not rise in rebellion in consequence of this disgraceful clause in particular. But there were many circumstances which now deterred Wales from taking that violent course.

(1) Henry VIII. had been Prince of Wales, and it was as such he had, on April 22, 1509, ascended to the throne now of both England and Wales. Therefore, in the eyes of the Welsh nation, it was *their* king who had been enthroned and anointed ruler of England, as well as that which he had already occupied, viz. his more ancient dominion in Wales. From Edward I. to Henry VIII. there had been the following kings who had been Princes of Wales before becoming Kings of England also :—Edward II.; Edward the Black Prince, who had worn the diadem of Wales, but had died before his father, Edward III. Richard II., son of the said Black Prince, who ascended the throne of England, June 24, 1377; Henry V., made Prince of Wales, October 15, 1399, and who had ascended the throne of England, March 21, 1413; Edward, son of Henry VI., was made Prince of Wales, June 26, 1471, but was slain at the battle of Tewkesbury, May 4, 1471; Edward, son of Edward IV., who descended from Princess Gladys the Brunette, daughter of King Llewelyn the Great (*d.* 1240), and who had married Lord Ralph de Mortimer, Wigmore Castle, county Hereford. Prince Edward de Mortimer was created Prince of Wales, June 26, 1471. He ascended the throne of England, April 9, 1483.

Edward, only son of Richard III. (brother to Edward IV.), was created Prince of Wales, August 24, 1483. He died April 9, 1484; Arthur Tudor, son of Henry VII., was made Prince of Wales, December 1, 1494, but he died April 2, 1502; Henry (the said Arthur's brother) was created Prince of Wales, February 18, 1503, and ascended the throne of England on April 22, 1509.

(2) Henry VII. had restored the colours of Wales, green and white, to the throne of England, as well as already those of Wales, where they had never ceased to be, as they had been through the centuries prior to the Saxon, Dane, and Norman invasions of England, the royal colours of all Britain. The leek's two colours represent the flag.

(3) Henry VII. had named his son and heir Prince Arthur, the reputed greatest king of the Welsh people, thereby the king had manifested that his own aspirations

were the same as those animating the ancient Britons of Wales. Further, he had appointed Prince Arthur President of Wales, and made Ludlow Castle his official residence, and Princess Catharine of Aragon, his wife, Princess of Wales. Those considerations had a most powerful influence everywhere in molifying Wales, and Henry VII.'s attacks on the Lords of the Marches, the constant thorns in the sides of Wales, intensely endeared him to the people of Wales. Thus the Statutes of Wales, emanating from Henry VIII., became possible in Wales. They seemed to all classes as being the acts which one of themselves, who had deemed them absolutely necessary for the benefit of all Britain, and, like sensible people, they submitted, but hoping at the same time the future would readjust matters to their satisfaction. Each Prince of Wales is also Earl of Chester.

APPENDIX

THE ORDINANCES OF WALES

Henry IV.'s Hostility to Wales.

THE outbreak of Wales insurrection under Owen Glyndwr in 1400, which, with various fortunes, lasted till 1415, when that great chief died, caused the utmost consternation in England; and one noble lord remarked in the House of Lords, "that were Owen Glendower to succeed, there would be an end to English speech and to England." It is likely that the consternation was partly due to guiltiness for the outrageous manner Wales had been treated in the past by the kings and ruling classes in England. All this is now simply interesting reading to both England and Wales. On the other hand, the 160 castles fringing Wales, erected as stations for so many garrisons to keep the Welsh hemmed in, to prevent them from being a danger to England, are so many testimonies by thievish Norman Lords of the Marches of the power and possibilities of gallant little Wales; and the late Mr. William Ewart Gladstone remarked at Swansca, touching the significance of those castles as revealing a guilty conscience, and the manner disunited Wales had regarded those numerous castles, that their very ruins "prove that the Welsh in those days were not like docile sheep." We heard him making that remark.

From the mutual agreement entered into between King Edward I. and the representatives of Wales at Rhuddlan, concluded on March 19, 1284 (12 Edward) down to the outbreak of Glyndwr's rebellion, the government of Wales presents a most interesting and very peculiar aspect. There were twenty-one Lordship Marches (p. 188) running along the borders of Wales, and, in many instances, stretching into some inland parts of Wales. In each of those lordships, except Glamorgan and co. Monmouth, where the old laws of Wales prevailed, each Lord Marcher had his own court, independent of the Crown and of Wales, and of the other courts of other Marches. Each was a regal court, where no writ from outside could run. Next we see the Welsh courts outside those

Lordship Marches in which the native laws and language still prevailed, subject to certain clauses in the Statute of Rhuddlan. To this day we find in Wales traces of the two kinds of rule prevailing in Wales. Thus we have Welsh Maelor and English Maelor, one on one side, the other on the opposite side of the river Dee in Powys Madoc; the Welsh and English Talgarths, co. Brecon; Coety Anglia and Coety Wallia, Glamorgan; Welsh St. Donats and English St. Donats, Vale of Glamorgan. All this proves that England, being unable to subdue Wales as a whole, schemes were set on foot to attack it in numerous detail with a view to take it by piecemeal, as it were, from between the claws of the Red Dragon clutching it all.

For many ages the Welsh had no regular Parliament of their own where its representatives could meet to discuss national affairs and agree to a united line of policy. But the fact that their language retains still the native names for such institutions, prove that, formerly, they had two chambers and one Parliament. Their House of Commons was called Rhâth, as still named in Germany; and the House of Lords—no doubt composed of the Elders—they called Aesâch, or “Shield of the Race.” We have ample proofs that wherever Wales had still a regular territorial Government of their own, there also was a Privy Council of State, the others having been destroyed. We know that in the reign of King Llewelyn the Great (*d.* 1240) his State Council met repeatedly at the Abbey of Strata Florida and transacted State business; Prince Edward (*d.* 1176), Llewelyn’s father, was excluded from the throne of North Wales, although the legal heir, by the vote of the State Council. We know that King Gruffyth ap Cynan (*d.* 1137) had his State Council and his Prime Minister, viz., Owen ab Einion, called also Owen the Traitor, whose daughter King Gruffyth had married. Owen died in 1103. Llewelyn the Last’s (*d.* 1282) despatches are ratified by his State Council.

It is evident that the masses of the people of Wales did not always wait to be led by their respective chiefs to act, but rushed to the Red Dragon banner wherever it was uplifted. In no other way can we account for the numerous armies that history reveals in various parts of Wales under favourite Princes of Wales. As said before, Owen Glyndwr’s insurrection which nearly brought all Wales into united action, is in Welsh called, the “War with Wooden Bars” (Rhyfel Bar-Goed). It so much exasperated Henry IV. and all England that he was able to persuade his Parliament to enact certain ridiculous Acts of Parliament, which are called the “Ordinances of Wales.” They must be regarded as the productions of England afflicted with severe Dee fever! Those are summarised as follows:—

"The Welshmen were prohibited from purchasing lands in the Marches of Wales." It will be noticed that the said lands had been stolen from the Welshmen, who are now by Act of Parliament prohibited from even buying back their own. "Welshmen were debarred from representing any place in Parliament." "They were debarred from holding any corporate or any office of trust." In any suit at law between Englishmen and Welshmen, Englishmen were not to be tried, except by English justices and English burgesses or by inquests taken in English towns or boroughs where the suit lay (Jan. 1401). All Englishmen who married Welsh women were disfranchised and rendered incapable of holding any office in Wales and the Marches. Meetings for counsel were forbidden to all Welshmen, save by special licence of the English lord of the locality wherein the council was desired; and such council, when a licence for holding was granted, had to be held in the presence of that lord's officers." "No food stuffs or ammunition were permitted to enter Wales, except by the permission of the king or his council." "No Welshmen were to have charge of any place of defence." "No Welsh child was permitted to be educated, or apprenticed, to any occupation in town or borough in the isle of Britain."

The foregoing enactments simply point out the fact that Owen Glyndwr and his cudgel-armed forces had struck so much terror into Henry IV. and his Parliament that they had become panic-stricken. It will be remembered that in 2 Henry IV., March 18, 1401, was passed an Act of Parliament against the Welsh bards, renewing the prohibitions passed in preceding reigns, as already stated.

The Lordship Marches annexed to the English Crown.

In A.D. 1364, 28 Edward III., chap. iii., we find that what the potent Edward I. had not attempted to do, was accomplished, the Lordship Marches being annexed to the English Crown. Edward I. had found it necessary to humour the Lords of the Marches of Wales. It was almost more than he could accomplish with the active assistance of the said twenty-one Lords of the Marches, in 160 castles, occupying the landed estates stolen by those lords from the Welsh along the borders of disunited Wales, with deep indentations into the body of it, namely, subdue even a section of gallant little Wales. Had Edward I. provoked also those lords, they might at any moment make common cause with Wales, which would make his utmost efforts useless. But by 1364, Wales having, as regards appearances, given up the struggle, Edward III., thought he might now venture to curb the Lords Marchers themselves.

Each of those Marches, enjoying a sort of independent sovereignty, where the King of England's writs did not run, even became a refuge for all who deemed it necessary to flee from England and Wales. This was a state of things both inconvenient and humiliating to the Crown. The feudal courts of the Marches were also independent of each other, and of all Wales and England. Wales's only connection with England was that established over a crown colony by the Statute of Rhuddlan (1284), and Wales faithfully observed its conditions, which were mutually entered into by the Crown and North Wales. By the Act 28 Edward III., the Crown made each Lordship March a petty crown colony, over which the Crown had supreme authority.

Edward III., then created a Court of the Marches, and established it at Ludlow Castle, Salop, and called its governor President of Wales. Then, later, a further curtailment of the powers of Marchers was enacted by Henry VII., and by the attainder of Sir William Stanley, a potent Marcher, the majority of the Lordships Marches in North Wales were sequestered to the Crown, as Crown lands, to be the private property of the Welshman Henry VII. This circumstance must have been viewed with grim satisfaction by all Welshmen.

Those lands in North Wales were forfeited to the Crown, otherwise Henry VII., in the same sense as all the monasteries and their landed estates were, in 1536, forfeited to Henry VIII., most of which he handed over to his favourites on a certain condition, namely, that out of the emoluments thereof they maintain the army and navy. That, however, they afterwards placed instead on the shoulders of the ratepayers generally.

But the separate authority of the Lords Marchers, even within each March, was entirely abolished by 27 Henry VIII., and the court of Ludlow Castle, till then the seat of authority and the official residence of the President of Wales, was also abolished by 1 William and Mary, in 1689.

In 27 Henry VIII., on the application of Wales itself, soliciting the extension of the English law of land inheritance to all Wales, giving the land to the eldest son alone of an intestate landed proprietor, a law called primogeniture, instead of, till then in Wales, dividing it equally between each son—a daughter or daughters were excluded—a law called Gavel-Kind, Henry took advantage of that request of all Wales to abolish the laws of Wales altogether, and to substitute in their stead the laws of England; and he went so far as to enact a law, which only one of his brutal nature could dream of, namely, introduce with them the language of England, not then understood by all the Welsh people, and excluded the native tongue entirely from all the

law courts of Wales, once the language of all Britain. But down to 1830, Wales continued to be a separate jurisdiction apart from England. Then Wales was divided into circuits, Monmouthshire being included in the Oxford circuit. Until 27 Henry VIII. the effect of the Statute of Rhuddlan was that Wales, except Glamorgan and Monmouth, had remained a Crown colony, but subject to its own native laws, except certain matters interpolated by the Statute of Rhuddlan. But by 27 Henry VIII. Wales was joined to the *Realm* of England, instead of only to the *Crown* of that country. The effect now was, that Wales became an integral part of Great Britain, and the title of England *and* Wales was established as the legal name of the union or partnership. Thus Wales beyond the Marches had its own laws till 1536. What seems to have given great satisfaction to Wales was, that it received thus a dignity on a par with England itself, and that the jointure was the act of a Tudor, a scion of the ancient royal family of Wales itself. In the application referred to made to Henry VIII., the petition asserts truly Wales could inscribe on its national flag, "An Unconquered Nation."

By 26 Henry VIII., Wales and the districts in and along the border of Wales adjoining England, called Marches, the said Marches and Wales are referred to as separate identities, and by clause v. it is enacted, "that the Courts in Wales and the Marches shall be held in the most sure and peaceable locality in each of the Marches. And that the selection of each place is invested in the Steward or any other appointed officer." By this clause it seems that the old native Welsh courts had gradually become largely, if not entirely, absorbed in the courts of the Marches, but ruled by the laws of Wales even there. It thus seems that, till then, the judge, or judges in each court to be efficient had to be master of Norman-French, English, and Welsh, and be able to interpret the law of Wales in Welsh, and the laws of the Marches, which were mostly in Latin, into those three languages. In this dilemma, Lord Thomas Cromwell, himself (like Oliver) a Williams of a family of Cevn On, Caerphilly, enacted, with the sanction of Henry Tudor (VIII.), that all proceedings in the law courts of Wales and the Marches, which it appears to mean in effect, because of the absorption, Wales generally, were to be carried on in the English tongue. The state of affairs was perplexing and very inconvenient, and Lord Thomas appears to have enacted the best remedy that his mind could suggest. In this new light, circumstances appear to have forced the authorities to the only possible solution of the linguistic difficulty, so cruel to Wales in the solution.

Act 26 Henry VIII., clause vi., is as follows: "Justices of the

Peace and Gaol delivery in the counties next and adjoining to Wales, where the King's Writ runneth, may hear and determine the offence of counterfeiters, washers, clippers, or diminishers of coins, and all felonies in Wales or the Marches thereof." It will be noticed that the Marches of Wales are here mentioned as ruled by this clause, before the union and the abolition of the Marches altogether.

Then comes the great Act of 27 Henry VIII., whose principal features are the following: "Wales shall be incorporated, united, annexed to and with England, and all persons born there shall enjoy all liberties as other subjects in England do. Lands shall descend there according to the English Laws, and not after any Welsh Laws or Customs. The Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and none others, shall be had and used and executed in Wales, in like manner as in this Realm [of England], and as shall be further declared by this Act. England and Wales swallowed up between them all the Marches.

It was immediately after this Act came into force (1536), Wales first sent representatives to Parliament. The effect of this Act, socially, on Wales was that the landed gentry became by degrees severed from the Welsh language. All State business being now carried on in English, the territorial families lost touch with the great body of their fellow-countrymen, and the great majority of the clergy in Wales did likewise, with a like result.

The weak-kneed class, who always ape the upper classes, followed the example of the Squirearchy and the clergy, so there sprang up in Wales two orders of people, namely, the Anglicised Kimmerian Squirearchy—an Anglicised Kimmerian clergy, with a sprinkling of Englishmen, thrust into the richest livings of Wales by the Universities of England and other English patrons, who cared much more for the loaves and fishes than for anything else. But another class, the splendid Kimmerian peasantry of Wales, in the gloom of their national history, kept alive the ancient literature of their ancestors, and the harp of a thousand years continued in their hands to send forth its music from every farmhouse on the hillsides of Wales. And the piety of this class rose up like light in the wilderness.

Until recently, Wales was represented in Parliament only by its Anglicised Squirearchy, who had nothing in common with the genuine natives of Wales; therefore, Wales was long to "dumb forgetfulness a prey," in Parliament. But a change has come about, and Wales speaks there in our day with confidence as the Mother of Britannia, as truly she is.

As the result of the Anglicised condition of the Church in Wales, the monoglot portions of the natives, and indeed also

of those who could, in broken English, transact business in it at fairs and markets, but who preferred the native tongue for religion and literature, their attendances at churches, speaking generally, became largely formal. Excellent efforts had been made by individual clergymen before, during, and after the Commonwealth to bring into concentrated action in Wales the scattered native national expression of native religious aspiration; but it remained an uncertain light flickering among bushes in the wilderness, or in the words of St. Mark: "And Jesus, when He came out, saw much people, and was moved with compassion toward them, because they were as sheep not having a shepherd, and He (Himself) began to teach them many things."

In A.D. 1588, the incomparable Dr. William Morgan translated into Welsh the entire Bible; this was afterwards revised by Dr. Richard Parry, both being bishops. Those of the clergy who were unacquainted with the language of Wales, mostly the "authorities," viewed the translation with little favour, for they had cherished the hope that the old British tongue would soon perish out of the way. The lukewarmness respecting the stupendous performances of both Dr. Morgan and Dr. Parry is aptly illustrated by the discreditable fact that, although both were entombed in or at St. Asaph's Cathedral, the graves of both are unknown!

The English Book of Common Prayer was translated into Welsh, but the translators were far better English scholars than Welsh ones. They made use of the English idioms, to the exclusion of the Welsh ones, so that constantly to the native ear the prayers seemed like the efforts of one to speak Welsh by English methods. Where in Welsh the adjective was placed after the noun, in the Prayer Book it was placed as in English before it, so that the monoglot Welshmen were puzzled, and smiled inquiringly, wondering where that sort of Welsh had come from; being quite certain it had not come from Dr. Parry's Bible. It sounded very odd; but the majority, not being grammarians, they could not say what was the matter. But by degrees, as biblical knowledge spread, great spiritual fermentation was observable throughout Wales, and a few genuinely Welsh clergy sought to lead the awakened religious fervour of the natives. Sad to say, the "authorities" of the Church of England in Wales more than scowled at their efforts, and discouraged them in every way as too Welsh!

In 1743 several ordained deacons of the Church who knew Wales well, met at Watford on the hillside, west of Caerphilly, Glamorgan, to organise a movement to act as an auxiliary within the Church, as an assistance to it in the direction of Welsh matters. It will hardly be believed by posterity that those young

clerical deaconate were vilified by those "dogs in the manger" clerics, who were worse than useless in the pulpits of the Church of England in Wales.

Like their ancestors, the Druids, the Kimmerians now sought the glades of green forests for their gatherings for religious purposes. A day would be proclaimed for all to meet at a certain spot, and there the nearest farmer would, with a team of horses, take the largest four-wheeled waggon he had to act as a pulpit for the occasion. If the season happened to be a hot one, we have heard from old men who had attended those gatherings, the waggon was placed in such a position so that great leafy branches of the forest oak stretched over the waggon as a canopy to shield the preachers in that pulpit from the glare of the brilliant sunshine, and thus "from Nature's presence," the orators, "tenfold grandeur caught."

The preachers were men without any other scholastic attainments than what the Welsh Bible afforded them, except in rare instances. They were eminently of the people, and were types of the ideals of the people as to what ministers of religion ought to be. Their familiarity with the native language, rich in theological terms, with its sublime diction and phraseology was perfect, and their oratory was of the loftier strains wonderfully resembling those of the Hebrew prophets of old. Like all ancient nations their discourses were largely of the recitative type, with musical intonations, with exquisite sonorous cadences, to which is given the name *hwyl*, a word meaning literally "full sail on," filled with celestial breeze carrying them along towards the Better Land! These preachers had not the slightest imitation of clericalism in their dress, but in appearance might be easily mistaken for Galilean fishermen. They most carefully avoided parting the hair above the forehead and turning it towards either temple, but the hair was cropped across the forehead, and if it happened, as often was the case, to be naturally curly, it formed itself into the appearance of a turban. In some parts of Wales, so important from an ecclesiastical point of view was this form of wearing the hair that a round wooden bowl was placed over the head and the hair was cut with a scissors round about in the orthodox fashion. Of course they had not the remotest idea that the origin of the style was the ancient Bacchanalian sun worshipper's one to symbolise the disk of the sun, and then of the Roman Catholic tonsure style. It was a common circumstance at those great camp meetings on the border of a forest to see ten thousand people, and occasionally more according to the attraction in front and around the waggon forum, all most devout in attitude and demeanour. These gatherings resembled those of the persecuted Covenanters of Scotland in the countrysides.

But these Welsh gatherings were not because the people differed in doctrines and objected to conformity, but simply because of the abuses within the Established Church, and the inadequacy of its Anglicised clergy to minister in a proper manner in the vernacular tongue. What sufficiently proves this is that from 1743 to 1811 the promoters of this great national reform in imparting religious instruction in Wales had no ordained ministers of their own; but after worshipping in private houses and in barns during the month, they, on Sacrament Sunday, generally once a month, might be seen proceeding over the highway and footpaths over fields towards the parish churches to partake of "the Holy Elements," (Yr Elvenau),¹ as they still name the bread and wine of the Eucharist. The term implies Ambrosia, the basis of eatables and drinkables. Hitherto they had been accustomed to receive the Sacraments from the hands of, too often, some perky sprig of the Squirearchy, who, ignorant of the native language and devout aspirations of the earnest-minded, had neglected them during the previous month, and in derision had designated them "Methodists"! But the natives seemed to have been strangely able to differentiate between the miserable instruments of the Anglicised Church and the ancient Kimmerian perpetual priesthood, which, in days of old, had led the flocks to the green pastures and the still waters! But so far the Welsh Nationalists, touching religious matters, had not yet built chapels, except perhaps one at Aber Rythin, near Cowbridge, Glamorgan, and another at Builth Wells, both, if we are not mistaken, named Alpha. We believe that the next chapel, but intended as a chapel-of-ease for Church people, was Salem, Pencoed, Glamorgan, built by the Rev. David Jones, the celebrated Rector of Llanganna, near St. Mary Hill, between Bridgend and Cowbridge. He died in 1810, and immediately after his decease, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists in 1811, as the Welsh Religious Nationalists came to be distinguished, separated themselves from the Established Church, and ordained from the class whom they named Exhorters, ministers of their own, qualified to administer the Sacraments, the vote of the enrolled members being their consecration to the holy office. One of the first thus ordained was the Rev. John Elias of Anglesey, and many saw, or thought they saw, a something strange in the fact that he bore the dual appellation, viz. that of the prophet and also that of the forerunner of the Messiah! He died in 1841. His matchless eloquence is a lovable memory still, coupled with the names of "Williams of Wern" and Christian Evans.

The following story is authentic. During the period the Five Miles Act was in force, prohibiting a religious service

¹ A term the Ancient Druids employed prior to Christianity.

anywhere except in the parish church on Sunday, a Nonconformist meeting was about to be held, on Sunday morning, in a deep-wooded glen in the parish of Eglwys Llan, Glamorgan.

A handsome daughter of a farmer was on her way to that gathering, when she unfortunately met the local vicar going towards the parish church. Said he to the young Kimmraes: "Where are you going to, Mary?" She replied: "My Eldest Brother has died, sir, and I am going to hear his Will read this morning." "O, indeed," said he; "has he left *you* anything?" "Yes, sir," was the answer, "enough to live upon." "I congratulate you," was his reply, and he then rode to the church. He little thought that rosy-faced Mary was speaking allegorically, and that she was speaking of the Saviour and the New Testament.

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